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ABSTRACT

This monograph discusses how to bring about changes and reforms in the area of human services. The introduction defines human services and briefly discusses some reform movements and whether or not viable change methods are available. Section I discusses the roles of various change participants including the change agent, lobbyist, ombudsman, coordinator, advocate, and citizen participation. Different change processes are examined in the second section. Included among these are project planning management; coalitions; community organization; community development; program evaluation; negotiating and bargaining; social change and the courts; and militancy and conflict. The third and final section treats the future of American human services in the 1980s under four interacting influences: evolving ideologies and social values, emerging technologies, changing administrative practices, and modified program patterns. An appendix contains case studies documenting actual implementation of reform methods in the human services field. (Author/RM)

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Stimulating Human Services Reform

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A National Clearinghouse for Improving the Management of Human Services

PROJECT SHARE has contracted for the preparation of the monograph series in order to survey the state of the knowledge or the state of the literature in selected subject areas of importance to the human services community. The monograph series will also provide an opportunity for authors to offer their views and opinions on these topics. It is the aim of PROJECT SHARE to stimulate discussion through the publication of these monographs.

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INTRODUCTION

• What are human services? • Why stimulate their reform? • What is being done? • Is reform feasible? • Are viable change methods available?

Definition of Human Services

In a 1976 as yet unpublished manuscript of the Association of University Programs in Health Administration, H. Charles Schulberg and I developed the following definition of human services.

> Human services is both a conceptual rubric for organizing etiological notions about the biopsychosocial distresses faced by persons as well as a comprehensive caregiving arrangement required to relieve any or all of these distresses. Central to the human services rubric is its emphasis upon the following principles:
>
> 1. Human distress often is founded in *social system deficiencies* rather than physiological, metabolic, or intra-psychic disorders. Rather than focusing on diagnostic labels which obscure these social system elements, increased concern should be paid to the daily "problems in living" adversely affecting persons.
> 2. The helping activities of various caregivers have many qualities which are common and integral to all of them. These qualities often are not dependent or related to the caregivers' particular professional training. *Competence* is the critical variable; and, often, it transcends arbitrary distinctions of degree and discipline.
> 3. *Accessibility* of services often is as important as their quality to clients seeking appropriate help. Accessibility must be viewed not only in terms of physical convenience but also with regard to such characteristics as psychological comfort, compatible staff, and appropriate hours.
> 4. *Systems of Service* properly integrated to ensure *continuity of care* are more effective than single services functioning in isolation. The range of human problems is so broad that only in exceptional instances can a given organization fully meet a client's total needs.
> 5. Service providers are accountable to *multiple constituences*, including the clients obtaining their services. Determinations of program effectiveness must include the consumers' perspective as well as those of clinicians, administrators, and resource providers.

To some, human services is an organizational schema; for others it is a conceptual rubric; and others find it to be a service delivery package. In any case, it is not new, as long as health, social welfare, rehabilitive, recreational, and educational services have existed some effort at integration has occurred. *The more we specialize and categorize, the greater we feel the need to link services.*

Need for Reform

Human services are big business. Somewhere between 35 to 40 percent of all employed people and a comparable proportion of the gross national product are invested in human services. The entire population consumes such services. Indeed, even providers are consumers of human services.

Magnitude

Its very size is its greatest danger. The human services arena has simultaneously become increasingly visible and vulnerable. Is there a politician who fails to express opinions on health, welfare, and education? And many, perhaps most of the comments are unfavorable. Complaints are currently focused on cost. They could as easily be targeted on benefits. Despite a more than tripling of expenditures in health in the last 20 years (twice that of inflation), longevity rates are essentially unchanged. Recreation is one of the nation's largest industries, yet no one would claim to be able to measure the effects of its massive expenditures. Test scores of high school seniors applying for colleges have been on a downward trend for 15 years. Horror stories of inadequate, ineffective, and bureaucratic services are commonplace.

Configuration

Problems of lack of available services, available but inaccessible services, services lacking continuity of care, inefficient services, or services of poor quality are all commonplace. Shorthand terms used to label these problems are compartmentalization, specialization, bureaucratization, barriers, and gaps. The common lament is that no one cares for the client as a person.

Discontent is pervasive. Human services are increasingly coming under fire for being bureaucratic, distant, self-serving, and complex.

As change occurs exponentially and our society itself becomes increasingly complex, technical, technocratic, and impersonal, system deficiencies generate negative responses. Typically we see disengagement, political apathy, protest, and polemic. As a major institution, the human services are not immune. To Etzioni (1968, p. 617) it is ". . . the unresponsiveness of the world to the actor which subjects him to forces he neither comprehends nor guides."

What is Being Done

At the national level, welfare reform, national health insurance (and Medicaid and Medicare), quasi-block social service grants, and the Allied Services Act are some current responses designed to help clear up social service gaps. At State and local levels, human service umbrella agencies, multiservice centers, health maintenance organizations (HMO's), community mental health centers, peer review, and statutory and professional continuing education requirements are some of the common organizational responses.

A decade ago the Ford Foundation's "Gray Area" programs in juvenile delinquency, the Federal Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Act, the Office of Economic Opportunity, and Model Cities were some of the organized responses of the Kennedy and Johnson eras.

Other actions at the State and local levels can be much more specific, such as negotiating effective referral arrangements between agencies, record exchanges, shared in-service staff education, and joint intake. An agency may assign one staff member to act as a client broker/advocate in a housing project to serve several categorical agencies.

Is Reform Feasible?

People resist change. They prefer the predictable and comfortable to uncertain alternatives, and as we know, people make up organizations. The problem is to find a way

to lead an enterprise in this uncertain world and persuade the world/system/organizations/people to respond constructively and flexibly to many new stimuli.

In part the recent interest in social change is a reaction to more than a generation of dominance by the advocates of individual change. Psychoanalytic theories have dominated American intervention practices. The focus has been on assisting the individual to better cope with his complex environment. *This monograph and many of the developments of the last decade have moved from this effort at micro individual change to organizational, policy, and macro change.*

Are Viable Change Methods Available?

What follows is an attempt to deal with this question. The focus for this presentation is both on the outsider looking in and the insider looking at his organization. In either case the goal is to identify means which can be utilized to effectively persuade policymakers and managers about the need for change and how to act accordingly.

Although references are made to national public and private policy, the emphasis is on community, local, and organizational level strategies for change. Thus, the consumer for this volume should be the practitioner in a public or private agency and the local administrator. Tools are identified and described, and their advantages and disadvantages are discussed.

It is frequently suggested that the ideal target for stimulating reform is the policy area, as the most effective source of rapid and significant change. At the same time, interventions directed at more limited targets are discussed, to give a more balanced view of what changes may realistically be achieved.

SECTION I

THE CHANGE PARTICIPANTS

THE CHANGE AGENT

As with most of the change procedures described in this monograph, change agentry is part art form, part science, part experience, and part luck. Much of the research in the field is based on a small number of demonstration projects, anecdotes from practitioners or observers, analysis (without data) based on sociological theories of change, or very personal idiosyncratic views of society or organizations. One exception was a study by Noel Tichy (1974, 1976) of data collected from 91 varied and well-known social change agents. Tichy suggests that the change agent's role includes three components: (1) his values, (2) the cognitive component (how he conceptualizes forces affecting change), and (3) change technologies. This text concentrates on change technologies.

Classes of Change Agents

Based on the self-description of the respondents, four classes of change agents emerged: (1) outside pressure; (2) organizational development; (3) people-change technology; and (4) analysis from the top (Tichy, 1974).

Outside Pressure

These change agents are found in groups concerned with such areas as civil rights, women's rights, the peace movement, and consumer rights. Compared to the other change agents they are a unique group — younger, with less formal education, and more aggressively political. Radical change and increased power is more likely to be their goal. Committed to broad societal goals, and not necessarily constrained by client/consultant relations, they feel free to use whatever means will succeed. They are "forceful" in their writings and in their actions (such as mass demonstrations, civil disobedience).

Organization Development

These agents see themselves as professional consultants using specific change techniques such as team development, sensitivity training, and individual counseling. They relate collaboratively with the organization with which they work providing information rather than directly influencing individual actors. Although their values are generally democratic, favoring individual freedom, they are employed to improve problem-solving ability and productivity, thus creating some internal role strain.

People-change Technology

The agents classified in this area use such means as behavior modification, need achievement, job enrichment, and the Tavistock group approach. Their means and ends —

democratic participation and solving social problems — are consistent. Their focus on social and people-change technologies include attempting to change the authority and reward structure, role clarification, and technological innovations.

Analysis from the Top

The fourth group (classified by Tichy, 1974, p. 169) consults using systems analysis, operations research, policy analysis, or "eclectic" analysis (business school professors). Ordinarily, their job is to advise and consult with the chief executive officer or his designers. Unless specifically requested, their concern will not be with total system change or the general public. They have specific tools, for specific problems, which are used on request.

Thus, there are various intervention roles (Figure 1). The change agent may be sanctioned or nonsanctioned. Sanctioned would entail being asked to intervene, to consult, and to advise. Alternatively, one may choose to intervene as an outsider lacking support of the system to be changed. (One could, of course, invite oneself in or manipulate sanctions.)

The focus could be on the larger environment or technology affecting the instruction. It could be on the system/structure itself. Or, alternatively the goal could be to bring about individual change in specific actors, (e.g., therapy).

Figure 1

Alternative Intervention Roles & Focus

	Sanctions	
Focus	Invited in	Outsider
Organized system/structure		
Individual change		
Environment/technology		

Professional athletic teams doing poorly often change the manager or coach. Sometimes they truly believe that such a change will be constructive; in other, perhaps most cases, it is symbolic. It demonstrates to the fans — the paying customers — that management cares. In no case does top management remind their adherents that over time a 50 percent win-loss record is the expected outcome and that in a 10 team league, a championship once in a decade is a realistic expectation. Also, since it is not easy to fire an entire team, managers are more replaceable and, as we know, owners seldom fire themselves. As further evidence of a manager's limits, they are often paid less than the team's stars.

Similarly, human service organizations are known to change the administrator, executive director, executive vice president, commissioner, or secretary when the organization is under criticsm or not proceeding as anticipated. The choices are to ignore the criticism (team standings), defuse the environmental stimuli, change the group or individual policymakers (the owners), or change the staff (the players). Given the complications and complexities unique to the other possibilities, firing the executive (manager) will at least buy time. It may be constructive, but rarely is, for the major organizational problems are seldom the principle responsibility of the executive.

Alternatively, the manager's qualities may be supplemented by the addition of skilled personnel or training programs — a hitting coach may be brought in, a systems oriented vice president may be hired, or the manager may be sent for additional special training. The training approach is seldom used in situations where there is organizational tension. Instead, it is usually a proactive decision on the part of the manager in anticipation of increased complexity.

The effort to directly influence individual members of the system requiring change more frequently will be at a level lower than that of policymakers and senior managers. Middle management is a frequent target. The assumption is that the organization is made up of individuals, thus impacting individuals will change (improve) the organization. Underlying this assumption is the belief that individuals whose knowledge and values are altered will change their behavior, thus having some positive collective effect on the organization (Hornstein, Benedict, and Hornstein, 1971).

A classical model for selected individual knowledge is formal education and for a direct impact on the personality, it is psychotherapy. These, and other like interventions, are specifically designed to impact on attitudes, knowledge, and values. The assumption is change will ultimately improve an individual's competence and his behavior in the organization, which, itself, ultimately will benefit.

Individually Oriented Change Processes

Hornstein et al. (1971) identify four clusters of organizing principles to explain the individually-oriented change process: the (1) analytic, (2) behaviorist, (3) socio-psychological, and (4) socratic-rational. (The models are seldom pure, of course.)

1. The analytic approach originates in the psychoanalytic theory of personality. Its tenets are considered equally valid for individuals, organizations, and individuals functioning as members of organizations. The actors are helped to gain insight as a primary change mechanism.
2. The behaviorists focus on manifest behavior, the unconscious is not of great concern. If internal change is required, it will occur as a function of performance or behavior change. Behavior modification, reinforcement, operant conditioning, and desensitization are some of the procedures common to the behaviorist approach.
3. The social psychological approach is based on the works of Lewin which point to social norms as a vital influence on individual behavior. Individuals are changed by placing them in other temporary settings with different norms and standards. Presumably, this will stimulate new problem-solving skills.
4. The rational view holds that man will respond appropriately to new information. For example, the prejudiced individual will change when given additional information about those to whom his prejudice is directed.

Argyris (1970) worries less about the specific change than about producing an internal capacity to solve problems. His "intervention theory" is based on the premise that organizational problems are not solved because the key actors do not know how to: (1) stimulate relevant data about the problem, (2) use the data to identify alternative solutions, (3) make choices, and (4) communicate a shared commitment to the decisions. His view of the interventionist (the change agent) limits him to the above roles, not to the creation of specific changes.

It is seldom that the change agent does not play multiple roles (Sashkin et al., 1973). In the client serving role, the change agent may help the client to solve the specific problem, help to improve general problem solving skills, and teach how to evaluate the results of the change. If the change agent is also a scientist-researcher, adding to knowledge is another role.

Although the outside management consultant is a multi-billion-dollar-a-year industry and constitutes the bulk of the organized change effort, the public is much more familiar with the outside pressure approach. Tichy and Hornstein (1976) describe four types: A

Quaker change agent, Ralph Nader-consumer types, Saul Alinsky community-organizer types, and a Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) category. There are others as the cases which follow will illustrate.

Self-Designated Change Agents

In general the self-designated change agent has strong values often in conflict with the dominant forces in our society. Frequently, they advocate a redistribution of power and resources. "Their rallying slogans include 'primacy of the people,' 'participatory democracy,' and 'social responsibility' " (Tichy and Hornstein, 1976, p. 949). Ordinarily they organize a constituency to put pressure on a target group or system.

But these common elements do not mean that differences are not also evident. Ralph Nader is noted for the thoroughness of his studies. He is also extremely skillful in using the press. His attacks will often encompass the system, organizations, and individuals. Similarly James R. Ellis, also arrayed and organized facts. His was a classic legal brief. Robert Coles, too, collects facts but is more likely to use them as the basis of theory building. Saul Alinksy, in contrast, had no objections to data but never viewed as essential. (See next heading for further discussion).

The Quaker approach (Tichy and Hornstein, 1976) is first to use persuasion, but if it fails, a wide variety of nonviolent approaches may be used including sit-ins, mass demonstrations, marches and civil disobedience.

The targets of outside pressure change agents are often government and business. Thus, collaborators are usually selected from outside government and business. Community groups, unions, and churches are often sought as allies.

Whatever the style, the change process usually contains several *common elements.* To someone there is a *problem.* It can be an insider or outsider who identifies the problem. There may or may not be general agreement that the problem exists. It may even be a problem only in the eve of the beholder, but problem it is.

Next is *commitment.* Either an individual or organization commits itself to *stimulate change,* presumably to solve the problem. Usually this includes persuading others of the problem's existence, importance, and need to be solved. They hope that this leads to a climate for change.

For example, profits need to be increased so product or organizational change is necessary. The nuclear power plant should not be built and allies are collected to halt the construction. Delinquency rates increase in the summer and agreement to develop acceptable youth programs is generated. Single-headed households have increased to the point that special programs need to be devised. *The problem is identified, a change agent arises, and support is enlisted.*

But obstacles occur. The seriousness of the problem may be debated. Other needs have higher priorities. Agencies are not ready to change their programs. The "pro-nuke" forces are stronger than the "antis." Society dissapproves of the single-headed household. Summer jobs for youth are not cost effective.

Thus, the climate for change needs to be supplemented by forces for change. Any important change always engenders opposition and they (the opponents) must be persuaded, rewarded, or overcome.

And, finally the change must be *implemented.* It must be specific, identifiable, and concrete. Even change agents need rewards. Some tangible outcome is necessary.

Some Change Agents

The increasing popularity of Saul Alinsky until his death in 1972, the dynamics of a Ralph Nader, the influence of Harvard child psychiatrist, Robert Coles, and the work of Ceasar Chavez are all evidence of the pubiic effectiveness of identifiable change-seeker role models (Demone, 1974).

Against an exponential rate of technological change our society and its institutions — law, religion, government, the family, and the professions — are increasingly placed in stressful positions. For example, professions inquire as to their proper roles: Should the physician hang up his shingle as a solo practitioner, join a group of his peers, become a full-time hospital staff or HMO member, or work in a neighborhood health center in a low-income community?

Edgar Schein (1970) suggests a 3 fold typology for professionals. (1) Custodianship professionals fully accept the norms of their group, and the current knowledge level and skills. They are satisfied with the status quo. They favor strong professional associations. (2) The content innovator accepts the professional norms but wants to see improvement in knowledge and skill. He concerns himself with scholarship, knowledge, and science. He is less likely to engage in practice, and instead is involved in teaching and research and views his academic colleagues as his peer reference group. He is considerably less involved in and often indifferent to professional associates unless they threaten his career. His goal is to maximize technical competence. (3) The role innovator is rare and is differentiated from the content innovator because he not only challenges the technology but also the technocracy, norms, and values of the profession.

> ". . . he questions the traditional ideas as to who is a legitimate client, who can or should initiate the contact between client and practitioner, what constitutes an appropriate setting for conducting, professional activities, and what are the legitimate boundaries of the professional's area of expertise."

Ralph Nader, attorney role innovator, is described by *Time Magazine* (Dec. 12, 1969) as, "The U.S.'s Toughest Customer" and "an almost legendary crusader." He sees the law as a powerful instrument for positive social change. All consumers are his clients even though few have requested his assistance. To Nader, legal services are a right not a privilege. He has been principally responsible for the enactment of six major Federal laws —the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Act of 1966, the Wholesome Meat Act of 1967, the Natural Gas Pipeline Safety Act, the Radiation Control for Health and Safety Act, and the Wholesome Poultry Act, all enacted in 1968, and in 1969 the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act. His other targets have been equally varied: monosodium glutamate in baby food, fatty hot dogs, unclean fish, tractors, medical x-rays, color television radiation, and many Federal agencies.

Another change agent of note was Saul Alinsky who spent more than 30 years organizing the poor, only to move to organizing the middle class late in his life. His premise was that all people had power if they developed political and organizational skills. *Time Magazine*, in an 1970 essay devoted to Alinsky, suggested that he, "has possibly antagonized more people — regardless of race, color, or creed — than any other living American (March 2, 1970, p. 56)."

To Alinsky, conflict was the road to progress, sharing of power the essence of democracy. His targets were most often city officials, corporations, and slum landlords. His tactics included boycotts, pickets, rent strikes, and a variety of imaginative stunts. According to Alinsky, to develop credibility a group needs an enemy, a target of adequate stature. The Eastman Kodak Company and the University of Chicago proved to be admirable opponents in the 1960's (*Time Magazine*, 1970). In his last book, published in 1971, his sophistication was most apparent. "You never take an action without first figuring out the reaction. . . . Periodic mass euphoria around a charismatic leader is not an organization." And finally, "He who lives by the sword shall perish by the champagne glass" (Alinsky, 1971).

An important example of a contemporary change agent with national influence is Harvard psychiatrist Robert Coles. Through his 13 books and more than 350 articles he has worked to communicate the message that most poor whites and blacks and working-class whites are healthy in mind and courageous of spirit. According to Coles, they are possessed of untapped strengths that if utilized and understood, could be most important for America (*Time Magazine*, 1972). Consulted by Congressmen, studied carefully by the academic community, featured in a cover story by *Time*, the nation's popular press has

quoted him frequently. *Time* calls him "the most influential living psychiatrist in the U.S." To Kenneth Clarke, Coles "keeps morality, decency and justive alive."

These highly charged change agents are not limited to the national scene. Each State and area can usually identify someone who plays these types of roles around various issues. For example, *Harper's* magazine featured James R. Ellis, one of the State of Washington's most influential men. He has never held public office, nor has he aspired to it. He is not wealthy. He is not upper class. He is not charismatic. He is not a part of a major political machine. He is the opposite of the power elite. Yet, according to *Harper's*, (Fisher, 1969) he is substantially responsible for much of what has happened in that State's public arena for the last decade.

Ellis, a lawyer, is well organized. He can organize facts and clearly set forth his ideas. He is listened to, although such was not his fate when he began. It was only after seven years of failure in trying to attract support for an effective regional government for Greater Seattle that he turned to focused, incremental change. He found that people were willing to tackle a single dramatic project. He was successul and he never showed any personal political ambition. His credibility began to grow. Unlike Nader and Alinsky, he used consensual methods, arraying broad support. He was successful in specific, identifiable civic improvement programs, unsuccessful in complex, devisive issues.

Four different and dynamic role innovators, using a variety of successful change strategies and tactics, have been described. Thus although the ends may be one, the means are many. The setting, structure, skill, personality, flexibility, ability, and interest of the change agent, working in a complex, rapidly changing environment are all variables of note and importance. Thus single change tactics are time limited. Just as the problems vary so must the interventions (Demone, 1974).

Change agents need not be professionally committed to social change over time. The 1950's and 1960's saw many fluoridation battles across the United States, and dentists led the way. Since dentists are not known as a group for their role innovating behavior, this was a most important example of an issue finding advocates. Irwin Sanders (1969) says, "Many dentists have been thought of and many thought of themselves as repairmen rather than medical men. . . They were said to be more interested in techniques of filling teeth than of viewing caries as a disease." Yet, they assumed a public/political role having the customary successes and suffering the usual failures common to the political arena. Given the right issue and the right time, individuals (and professionals) ordinarily removed from the public arena will risk their image and participate in political processes.

There are professional change agents as well. Part of well-organized bureaucracies, they are found in public consumer advocacy bureaus and in nonprofit voluntary health and welfare councils, among others. Thus there is a complete continuum of roles, actors, and sponsoring organizations.

Stimulants to Role Innovation

As individual actors we can be the passive receptors of change or active participants in the process. What motivates participation in change? Schein suggests three factors which stimulate role innovation. First, the world continually changes, generating new problems to be solved which are legitimate to the actor. Even the most conservative medical practitioner may be genuinely excited by a more effective treatment regimen for a serious medical problem. The Jewish Neighborhood House which discovers that its starting basketball team is all black is made vividly aware of its rapidly changing neighborhood. The Senator or reporter who is mugged discovers a new world of assaultive behavior. The plight of the aging, sick parent adds a new dimension to the life of the bank president. Schein (1970) calls this "role suction". All individuals, conservative or liberal, may find themselves pulled into new situations and directions as society directly confronts them. A second area in which individuals are motivated to act as change agents is in their tendency to redefine their jobs in ways most congruent to their interests and style. This

tendency can be to limit or to expand. If the latter is chosen, it enhances the possibility of invention.

Thirdly, deliberate, logical, rational efforts can be made to stimulate role flexibility or role change. Undergraduate and graduate schools may participate; continuing education may be designed to this end. Not only are there "town-gown" struggles relative to discontinuous values, but such problems as a medical school in conflict with the local medical society regarding the teaching program and the role of the faculty in the community also occur. The predictable, comfortable, status quo is the customary choice, and resistance to change can be expected.

The Stay Agent

Broskowski, Mermis and Khajavi (1975) expand the change agents' role by reminding us of the missing partner, "the stay agent". It is not sufficient to merely stimulate successful change; to integrate effectively the new function some organization stability is necessary. The "stay agent" is the rebuilder. His tasks include: building and maintaining systemic boundaries, developing internal networks between subsystems, collecting and maintaining new resources, and assuring the provision of feedback on output and growth to provide for necessary future changes.

As noted elsewhere, organizations are like people, they prefer the known to the unknown, the predictable to the unpredictable, and as such, generally resist change. Failing this, they can easily fall back into their old ways, unless this option is not available; or they can settle into new patterns, perhaps improving, but still not maximizing their capability to respond effectively to their clients. Thus, someone must prevent both slippage into the old or creation of a new form of stagnation while simultaneously supporting stability: Broskowski (et al.) reminds us that uncontrolled growth and ongoing internal turbulence are often found in such destructive processes as cancer.

The roles of change and stay agent may be played by the same person, although not at the same time. They may also be played by different persons, again not at the same time, although some overlap may be accommodated. One of Saul Alinsky's major achievements was that he would develop and leave behind stay agents to maintain his newly established organizations. Stabilization and maintenance of the reorganization or new organization is essential.

The Inside Change Agent

Although public acclaim most often is ensured to the outside change agent, as illustrated by the change agents described in this chapter, it is the inside change agent who is critically important over time. In most organizations, this role is ascribed to the chief executive officer (CEO). Failure to accept both the inevitability and the accelerating rate of change may mean organizational failure. Change is continuous and exponential (Irwin and Langham, 1966). All solutions are temporary.

This means that even superb management of today's organization without an awareness of and commitment to innovation is not likely to be sufficient. Change should be considered normal. "Top managers must be change seekers. Their leadership role is to provide a climate for rapid improvement toward excellence" (Irwin and Langham, 1966, p.3). Current operating responsibility should be delegated. Programs for the future (planning, implementing, and controlling) are the appropriate responsibilities of the CEO.

Incongruencies

In his typologic development of planned social change agents Tichy (1974) found some incongruencies that deserve discussion. The tools of analysis were not made available to change agents, evaluation was avoided, and goals and assumptions were not often clear. This made extrapolation from experience unlikey, thus leaving the change agent as an intuitive artisan.

Another incongruity is that some change agents may be in potential conflict with their employer. Tichy (1974) suggests that a consultant/change agent directly faces a latent value conflict. Specifically, he can: (1) make clear to the client the potential negative results of using participative management or similar techniques; and (2) not promise increased productivity or efficiency unless supported by data.

Conclusion

Most formal change agents have a bag of tricks (technologies) of their own. These "tricks" are sometimes systemically developed, sometimes intuitive, but, whatever the source, they are all limited. No practitioner is equally skillful in all techniques; thus by definition, it is likely that they will be called upon to achieve ends with intervention tools which are not always the most effective.

There are a *series* of factors affecting change. Although they vary in importance by role and sanction, they generally apply in most situations (Irwin and Langham, 1966).

- First, close the loops. Provide feedback information among all concerned. Make decisions and explain them — communicate.
- Next, involve the key actors. Whether influence is ascribed or achieved (formal or informal) make sure that the key actors are involved in the change process.
- Acknowledge the contributors. Reward effort.
- Monitor the process. Continually reappraise the progress.
- Evaluate the results. Determine what happened.
- Encourage some risk taking. Some failures are essential. They should be expected and sanctioned otherwise the alternatives will never truly be tested, the boundaries never reached. If all changes succeed, imagination and creativity were never truly at work.
- Give strong encouragement and support to those few innovators.
- And, lastly, be ready for an extended timeframe. The time necessary for significant change may be substantial. Be prepared for it.

THE LOBBYIST: POLITICS

Although Aristotle and Max Weber would probably have limited politics to situations involving government, contemporary political scientists use a broader brush to encompass the political scene (Dahl, 1963). Such nongovernmental organizations as the American Medical Association, organized labor, and the Standard Oil Company, all have interests which can be enhanced or inhibited by politics. To Robert A. Dahl (1963), "a political system is in a persistent pattern of human relationships that involves, to a significant extent, power, rule or authority." The American Medical Association, well known for its vigorous public political campaigns to protect the economic status of its members and limit the practice of chiropractors and osteopaths, has often seen some vigorous political struggles within the organization for intraorganizational power and influence. The American Medical Association is not unique in this respect. Most human associations are political, in part, and all political associations contain nonpolitical attributes. Seder (1973, p. 774) defines politics to mean, "the clarification of popular concerns, the assessment of value and power distribution in a population and its subparts, the education of the public and special interest groups, and the negotiation of acceptable courses of action and resource use almost always compromises across the set of interested parties." Thus, the exercise of politics is not necessarily directed exclusively at or by government nor practiced exclusively by the relatively small group of people known as "politicians."

Politics is not a unique art. Nor is the size of the organization a relevant variable. Politics is vital for its effects can influence or lead to *policy decisions*, and policy decisions govern our lives. (It is seldom that important group decisions are consistently or clearly consensual). The problem may be complex, goals unclear except at the most abstract and superordinate level, and means to achieve the goals uncertain. Thus, some "politics" may enter into discussions and negotiations as each group attempts to ensure that its concerns will be included in the decisionmaking process. In this sense, politics is a descriptive neutral term and a natural phenomenon found in all complex organizations and environments, perhaps also in most or all simple ones too.

The underlying motivations may vary. The American Medical Association may seek to: protect the financial status of its membership, make clear its view of the hierarchial arrangement of the health system (the physician always superior), or concern itself with issues of the quality of health care, or of charlatan practices among health food faddists. Thus, it engages in political activities motivated by a wide range of reasons, some expressive of enlightened self-interest more than others. As support is needed from others and one sets out to secure that support, politics is necessarily at work.

As the health industry moves toward consumption of 10 percent of the gross national product (the highest proportion in the Western World), its fiscal importance and characteristics heighten political activity around its structural and functional issues. I have commented earlier, and will again, about national health insurance. The struggle has been in the forefront of the American national, public, political scene since shortly after World War II, then as the Murray-Wagner-Dingle Bill and during the 1970's by many titles.

Politics of the Environment: An Example

Of equal interest and importance are the political conflicts now occurring about environmental issues. Air, water, and noise pollution, and solid waste disposal are among the more significant issues. The day of the lone, local, public health officer and sanitary engineer trying inadequately and in relative privacy to control belching industrial pollutants — smoke and waste — are no longer. Much of his time will be spent in defending or explaining his actions or inaction to inquiring reporters, irate industrialists, concerned labor union leaders, vigorous conservationists, and the natural outgrowth, politicians fearing the wrath of their constituents. J. Clarence Davis, III (1971) describes

five features of the current pollution-political control scence which substantially influence both the decisions and the ways that they are made. These are: (1) high visibility, (2) rapid change, (3) pervasive ignorance, (4) conflicting constituencies, and (5) administrative complexity. The beaches are unswimmable, smog engulfs large cities causing upper respiratory infections, housewives picket, students lament, organizations develop at an exponential rate and politicans react. Yet, pollution is developing visibility, conflict is greater, policy issues more complex, our elected officials (local, State and Federal) pass more laws, and our bureaucrats respond with more rules and regulations. This is in an environment in which Chemical Abstracts in 1969 listed approximately 250,000 newly discovered chemical compounds (Davis, 1971).

With this extraordinary rate of change, it is not surprising that *lack of knowledge* is highlighted as an issue of great concern. How could we determine in one year the effects on humans or the effects on the environment of 250,000 chemical compounds or even a fraction of that amount? We can only hope and pray that the entrails of mice are accurate indicators of human and a stable environment.

Even assuming the capacity and competency to monitor and control pollution (all questionable assumptions), by what stretch of the imagination is it likely that we could maximally utilize our technology and competence? For the matter of *conflicting constituencies*—that is, politics,—is necessarily at work. Reduced air pollution leads to increased fuel consumption (a limited and finite commodity) and increased manufacturing and many other costs. Plants close rather than install expensive new pollution control equipment. People lose their jobs and express bitter anger at the environmentalists.

The policy and social change questions underlying this dynamic political struggle are obviously highly complex, laden with ambiguity and tension, and as such, defy simple answers.

Interest Group Theory

To understand and impact on the political process, health and human services specialists are aware of the relevance of interest group theory. "It explains politics as a tugging and hauling among competing interest groups. Policy that exists at any particular time is the point of equilibrium where the competing forces pull the rope of policy taut" (Munger, 1971, p. 11). Of course, some groups are more organized than others and some more influential than others. In Nader's *Who Runs Congress?* (Green, Fallows, and Zwick, 1972, p. 29), a chapter begins thusly: "When the dairy industry was looking for its 1971 rise, it had the advantage of having warmed up dozens of Congressmen with campaign contributions." We have since learned that the incumbent President was similarly favored. The symbolism of cows, milk, and farmers fully enmeshed in questionable and possibly illegal lobbying practices leaves little inviolate. Perhaps only apple pie and motherhood still are untainted, with motherhood increasingly under challenge.

Saul Alinsky sees change as based upon private interest, not as a function of altruism. Group coalitions are formed based upon common need (Alinsky, 1970).

Federal Aid to Education: An Example

Munger (1971) analyzed Federal aid to education bills from 1918-1965, the year of the major policy switch by Congress. Over the nearly 50 year period, Congress had consistently opposed Federal aid to education, even construction, usually a function well accepted and politically viable, for bricks and mortar are standing monuments to which politicians can identify. (Construction unions are also very active politically.) In 1965, President Lyndon Johnson placed his signature on an aid to education bill with provisions which went far beyond earlier requests, all of which had been defeated on many prior occasions. In a statement accompanying the signing of the bill, the President said that efforts to develop a Federal aid to education bill extended back to 1879. Over the years, the line-up that supported or opposed such bills, included organized labor, the National Education Association, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, and other business

groups, Protestant, Catholic and Jewish denominations, churches and groups, the American Legion, the PTA, farm groups, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and many others. Although there was a gradual shifting of alliances over time, the groups opposing Federal aid were sufficiently strong to prevent any major action. Three main themes ran through this extended period of polarization: "segregation, fear of federal domination of local school systems, and aid to parochial schools (Munger, p. 12). Thus, for more than half a century, no legislation could be designed to effectively accomodate these special concerns.

By 1965, the stalemate was due for a shift. The Supreme Court decisions on segregated schools in the 1950's and 1960's and subsequent Congressional actions on civil rights in the 1960's effectively disposed of one issue. Other shifts - attitudinal and substantive - also occurred, thus moving some of the opponents into the "for" column without provoking a compensatory shift into the "against" column, and thus permitting a compromise bill in 1965.

Pluralism

From the perspective of groups concerned with human services policy, "interest group theory" defines a specific avenue of analysis. It fits our pluralistic system, is sanctioned, legitimized, has historical precedent and works often enough to reinforce people's belief in its credibility.

The concept of pluralism suggests that people know what they want and what they need. It contrasts with the principle that someone else knows best. "Pluralism rests on the conservative idea of toleration, of a policy of live and let live that may come to characterize the pluralistic society in which no group is powerful enough to prevail" (Livingston and Thompson, pp. 126-127). In turn these expressions of desire should be given avenues of communication to those in decisionmaking roles. *Compromise* is a highly legitimized decisionmaking tool in a pluralistic system.

For the person or group organized and skilled in intervention, the politics of pluralism is a highly effective device for influencing policy—public and private. For the disenfranchised and unorganized, it is possessed of serious shortcomings.

Lobbying

Another very popular American game and integral to American politics, is lobbying. Sanctioned and legitimized, lobbying is surrounded by laws, rules, regulations, and rituals. And according to the critics of the practice, the existing strictures are both commonly abused and inadequate. Fundamentally, the goal of the game is to enhance one's interest and failing that, to protect that interest. The interest may be personal, organizational, or an extended network. It may be self-centered or humanitarian, special interest or public interest. Often one lobbyist's special interest is another's public interest, and vice versa. Although one can lobby all sorts of organizations, it is commonly perceived as an activity directed at a public official or body.

Most narrowly, lobbyists are those people who wait in the lobbies outside the legislative chambers to influence legislators in respect to some current issue. (If you care you had better prepare to do just this, as elementary as it sounds. It can help your cause.)

Of course no lobbyist ever described himself as a lobbyist. More likely they use titles such as director of public affairs, public policy planner, public affairs specialist, legislative agent, or counsel on public policy. Typically the stereotype of the lobbyist is of someone who is furtive, self-seeking, sleek, carrying bags of goodies, and always ready with the proverbial vicuna coat in exchange for a favor. Legislative bodies are constantly engaged in investigations of lobbyists from Gulf Oil to President Park Chung Hee of South Korea.

Who Lobbies?

People can lobby as individuals for themselves or on behalf of organizations. The Federal Government in a general 1946 law covering lobbying and as part of the Tax

Reform Act of 1976, developed specific procedures to cover certain not-for-profit tax-exempt organizations. Similarly, many State and general purpose local governments have passed legislation which either controls lobbying and/or requires reporting of such activities.

Individuals acting for themselves in respect to a proposed action which might directly affect them have maximum freedom to lobby. Governmental agencies generally are unrestrained by special legislative controls, although custom dictates that public officials stay out of proposals which are the property of fellow public officials (instead, behind the scene activity is recommended). Churches and church affiliates are also remarkably free to act based upon the constitutional provision separating church and state. The press sees itself as having similar standing to the churches, quoting constitutional provisions regarding freedom of the press.

The size and cost of the lobbying effort in the U.S. is unknown but it obviously is substantial. According to Consumer's Union, the grocery industry alone has more than 100 specialized national trade associations. The Pharmaceutical Manufacturer's Association in 1972 employed 70 people on a $3.6 million budget (*Consumer's Reports*, 1972).

At the Congressional level there are approximately 2,000 registered lobbyists, although it is estimated that there are several thousand more people who lobby but who are not registered (Patterson, 1977). Based on a 1946 statute only those whose principal purpose is lobbying are required to register.

But lobbyists are not employed exclusively by the business sector of our society. Elected officials go before the public every two, four, or six years. As such they must be responsive to a complex, pluralistic, often-in-conflict constituency. Psychologists, nurses, and social workers have become more vigorous. Scientists remain timid. As noted earlier the American Medical Association is aggressive in protecting the interests of its members. It has been claimed on issues highly significant to their interests, contacts will be made by the family physician to key elected officials. The clergy have been known to give sermons, visit the family and contact elected officials directly. Chaplains to the legislature are well known for their political skills and acumen. (Those thousands of welfare mothers were heard loudly and clearly as they flocked to their Representative's offices.) The rules of lobbying are not a deep dark secret. Of course, the choice of some tactics, for example, sit-ins or violence, does not enhance the use of other change methods, for example, gaining consensus or favors.

Legislators are familiar and comfortable with lobbyists. They do not fear them. They do not reject them. Lobbyists are an integral component of their culture. Given controversy their preference would be to have sufficient balance on both sides of an issue allowing them to act in a way maximally responsive to their constituents (Blum and Funkhauser, 1965). The ideal legislation for the legislator, would be a bill which is high popular. has no significant opposition, would give him personal credit, enhance his political party, do good, and not cost any money.

Although outsiders may complain about the lobbying of special interest groups, members of such groups are often critical of the inadequacy of their own lobbying. Fairly typical are the complaints of John C. Honey (1972). Writing of the Higher Education Amendments of 1972 he strongly criticized his fellow faculty members. He urged more activity by the individual faculty and more funds and staff to lobby in Washington.

Remember again, public interest groups represent your concerns. Special interest groups advocate for others.

Lobbying by Charitable Organizations

As noted earlier, Federal legislation was enacted in 1976 which established new rules and procedures covering lobbying by 501(C)(3) Tax-Exempt Organizations (*Public Citizen*, 1976). Over the last several decades the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) used the "no substantial part test" to determine whether an organization violated its tax-exempt status.

Since the IRS refused to quantify the "substantial part" limit, most organizations used an arbitrary 5 percent cut off, that is . . . they limited direct lobbying costs to no more than 5 percent of their annual operating budget. This provision is still valid (the 5 percent is an estimate of course) but not-for-profit 501(C)(3) organizations may also elect to be covered by the 1976 law. The new law includes both direct lobbying. . . "attempt to influence any legislation". . . (by contact with a member or employee of a legislative body or with any governmental employee who helps to formulate the legislation) and "grass roots. . . attempt to influence any legislation". . . (by impacting on public opinion or any segment thereof).

Specifically excluded from coverage, and thus unconstrained for expenditures and reporting, are: (1) making available findings of "nonpartisan" analysis; (2) providing technical advice to a governmental committee, body, etc., on their written request (even when it would otherwise constitute lobbying); (3) communicating with the executive branch except where the "principal purpose" is to influence legislation; (4) communicating with the legislature concerning direct relevance to the life of the organization (for example the threatened changes in tax-exempt laws); and (5) communicating with its own bona fied members with respect to legislation, except where the organization "directly encourages" its members to lobby or to solicit others to do so. For those activities which are covered by the lobbying clause, dollar limits are placed. The amount varies by agency size. For those organizations with annual budgets of $500,000, up to $100,000 or 20 percent can be expended. For organizations spending $17,000,000 or more annually, a dollar limit of $1,000,000 was fixed.

Grass roots, nonmember, lobbying is limited to 25 percent of the total allowable lobbying expenditures. Requests to members that they influence nonmembers is defined as grass roots lobbying.

There are, of course, many other provisions. The not-for-profit organization interested in lobbying is urged to review the complete section 1307 of the Tax Reform Act covering lobbying.

Analysis

Meltsner (1972) uses "policy space" and "policy issue areas" as related and useful analytic concepts to better link alternatives to the relative political environment. There are identifiable and often overlapping policy spaces. The health policy space is linked to the welfare policy space and to the education policy space. All are influenced and constrained by the transportation policy space. Each policy space has a stable group of concerned organizations and actors. In health, the range of professional associations (physicians, nurses, pharmacists, etc.) are all alert to issues affecting their respective practice and domain. Similarly, the hospital association, health planning agencies, organized consumer groups, health councils, public health associations, and health officers are all key actors and institutions. They can be supportive, opposed, or neutral on any given issue. For the most part they have limited political credits and thus are not inclined to major political activity unless the proposal is very attractive or unattractive, and in either case has potential feasibility of being enacted. The annual Massachusetts legislative proposal to move Harvard Medical School from Boston to Lawrence stimulates little interest on the part of Harvard, or anyone else, since the proposal lacks political viability.

A "policy issue area is that part of the environment which is tied to a particular policy analysis. It delimits the chunk of reality which is the subject of analysis" (Meltsner, 1972, p. 860). Health insurance, certificate of need, and health maintenance organizations are all policy issues in the larger health policy space. Many issues are related. The exercise of a certificate of need procedure can negatively affect the policy and managerial prerogatives of a hospital board, the residencies of a medical school, and work opportunities for the local construction industry.

Just as some issues impact significantly on others including issues beyond larger policy space, so are they also differentiated by time. Continuing debate over national health insurance in this country began immediately following the end of World War II and no end is in sight. Control of health costs is a more recent phenomenon. Significant activity can be traced to the early 1970's. The end of this effort may be as uncertain and long standing as the implementation of national health insurance.

Other issues have their time and visability and then fade-space exploration is an example of this type of policy issue.

Some policy issues are more periodic. Welfare reform has been actively with us since the mid 1930's and every several years the various political jurisdictions make another effort to modify welfare policies and programs.

All of this occurs in a process where officials are elected two, four, or six years and meet every year or biannually, year-round (or nearly so) or for a limited time frame, e.g. 90 days. The limited time between elections requires relatively immediate byproducts for those interested in reelection. Members of the U.S. Senate are elected for six years implying a longer problem-solving time frame, but even their members are elected on a staggered basis. One-third come before the voters every two years. The ultimate goal is to win—be elected, and reelected and to have one's ego needs satisfied—not a very different goal from everyone else except for the additional public scrutiny and sharp evaluative criteria. This competitive election process is contained within a structure of political parties. The elected official or his competitor who wishes to replace him wants to look good and make the other look bad. As with the political parties, the enemy must be overcome.

For the lobbyist the law of relativity dominates the politician. Seldom is an important issue absolutely good or absolutely bad. It is relative to credit, to success, and to visibility. Successful politicians do care about their constituents and about programs in the district they represent. Thus the wise lobbyist will relate his proposal to the district of the elected official.

Politicians are essential actors in the political process. In recruiting cabinet secretaries or commissioners for Federal, State or local offices, one essential personality trait must be the attitude of the potential employee to politics and politicians. This is not to imply the candidate be a politician, but that he respect the value and legitimate role of the political process in a democracy and those chosen to play significant roles in the process (the elected officials).

Milton Greenblatt, a distinguished psychiatrist and former state commissioner of mental health, in commenting on politicians to his psychiatric colleagues felt thusly: "The fact is that politicians as individuals are about as easy to get along with as one's professional colleagues. They are generally more open about their feelings, more extroverted, more anxious to do a favor and earn gratitude, more interested in grabbing power, and more open about enjoying the limelight than are our professional colleagues. Their likes and dislikes are more obvious and explicit. If they are about to stab you in the back, they may tell you so" (1974, p. 1199).

Political Feasibility

Meltsner (1972) urges the development of political scenarios. "It is an act of speculation and conjecture. Using extrapolation, analogies, known causal relations, facts and fancies, the scenario depicts a policy's political feasibility." To facilitate the writing of the scenario he suggests the following categories for which you should gather information about your legislative proposal, supporters, and opposition. They include a list of the: (1) actors, (2) motivations, (3) beliefs, (4) resources, (5) sites, and (6) exchanges. I would suggest a seventh. Make a reasonable estimate of cost to implement the programs over a several year period since someone will surely ask. It is also important to be reasonably accurate. Politicans have long memories and you need credibility over time.

Since the legislative process is an open system the completion of your analysis may very well be a complex one. If your objective is to decriminalize public intoxication, some essential supporters and organizations to contact would be:

- Actors in criminal justice system (e.g., judges, police and sheriffs).
- Active members (politically) of Alcoholics Anonymous.
- Medical society and hospital associations.
- Key State agency heads such as:
  - Attorney General
  - Commissioner of Mental Health
  - Governor of the State
  - Speaker of the House
  - President of the Senate
  - Chairmen of Substantive Committees/ i.e., Ways and Means
- Public interest groups such as:
  - Council of Churches
  - League of Women Voters
  - State Labor Council

Up front should be the specialized alcoholism system, public and private. If these actors fail to assume an active leadership role the likelihood of success is limited.

Political Process

Yehezkel Dror (1967) also urges more attention to the political process. He advocates policy analysis to attend to "the political aspects of public decisionmaking and public policymaking. . . . This includes much attention to problems of political feasibility, recruitment of support, accommodations of contrasting goals, and recognition of diversity of values (p. 200).

Thus to reinterate, public policy decisions are made by definition, by elected legislators (or city councilors). They are in office as a direct function of the political process. Their decision are political.

Human service professionals cannot avoid the consequences of the political process. They can avoid direct contact with the process itself but they then have only themselves to blame if the process brings about unsatisfactory results.

Adversary System

Competition for limited resources is the game. Adversarial relations is an essential component of this game.

Harvey Freed (1967) another psychiatrist interested in political action suggests that when clear opposition is apparent, and it almost always surfaces, the psychiatrist (and other human service professionals) will have to cast aside their scientific objectivity and impartiality. In a sense a new professional identity must be acquired. Freed suggests that the new role is necessary to avoid stress. The adversarial nature of this new role is an essential component if the human service professional is to effectively serve the community.

Timing

Timing is highly relevant. When President Johnson signed the Federal Aid to Education Bill in 1965 referred to earlier, he noted that action toward this end had begun in 1879 (Munger, 1971). Thus an 86 year time span was necessary before the conditions were ripe for major change. Until the 1960's the opposition was evenly matched with the inevitable result - no action. For the lobbyist several lessons are evident. *Timing is critical, perseverance essential, and compromise usually necessary.* Court decisions may alter the

underlying conditions, public opinion may shift, and political parties may move to one side or the other of the ideological spectrum at anytime.

Election Years

There are good years and there are bad years for legislation. Ordinarily laws which lead to increased taxes are enacted during off election years. Laws which are perceived as being popular are more likely to pass in election years.

Legislative investigative commissions, if the chief executive branch official is of the opposite party, are likely to be more active in an election year. "White hat" bills, those affecting human services, usually have to wait their turn, particularly since it is usual for only one major bill to be enacted annually.

The Press

The press is essential. Jeremy Bentham, the first great legislative reformer of public health and welfare laws, said over 160 years ago that successful legislation is that which will do the most good for the most people. He was also the first legislative reformer to recognize the great power of the press.

Much more recently, Greenblatt (1974) wrote,

> "The power of the press is formidable and frightening. It can make or break. It can elevate a politician or other public figure to the skies or crush him to the earth. It can be the vital force in the passage of laws or in their defeat. It can concentrate attention on any issue of its choosing or ignore others. It can stimulate and enhance or it can harass and irritate. It can be a great respecter of the truth or it can be sloppy with the facts: it can probe and uncover or it can gloss things over."

Conclusion

Ordinarily lobbying is seen as an effort to achieve a specific end, the passage of some legislation. It may also be equally directed to increased appropriations or to the writing of the regulations which serve to clarify the goals of the particular legislation. Equally often, however, the objective is the opposite, to prevent the passage of a repressive act or stop a budget reduction. Enactment of legislation is a much more glamorous and politically viable act. The results are easier to measure. The constituents understand better. In fact the need in our nation is not to have more and better legislation, for the most part our statutes allow for the effective operation of most programs. It is in the *implementation* of the programs that more effort needs to be placed. And this is where the game becomes less interesting and yet more important.

As a human services professional/lobbyist you have some advantages and disadvantages in dealing with elected officials. Your graduate degrees and titles give you some prestige and respect. It is assumed that you have some competence and knowledge of your subject area. You are also considered a do-gooder, albeit professional, thus impractical about important political, organizational, and professional matters. You are also suspected of being impressed with your own importance. Elected officials are equally concerned about human beings (Greenblatt, 1974).

The tools used by the lobbyist to influence public behavior are equally valid for use in the private sector. Admission to the United Way, increased allocations or prevention of a repressive action also are subject to the same influences. This is so with other private organizations as well.

This author was involved in the drafting of an important piece of State legislation following two years of intensive and significant study and the careful solicitation of the key actors in the policy, political, and issue areas. Additionally, because of national developments, the time was ripe for change in the State. The game was to be played at the legislative level. The Governor was of one political party and his administration had inherited the study conclusion initiated by the prior Governor, from the opposite political

party. The incumbent Governor was convinced of the merits of the major proposed legislative reorganization, both substantively and politically. Political leaders of the opposition controlled the legislature. They too fully accepted the proposal. Thus the leadership of both political parties was ready to introduce the legislation - alone. Yet, they refused to cooperate with the other political party in an election year even though they had all been involved in the study process. Faced with the adamant refusal to cooperate, the authors of the legislation had to permit the sponsors of the work, the executive branch, to submit the legislation. The legislative leadership who had wanted to personally sponsor the bill now opposed it for a variety of reasons, all in fact dealing with political credit.

We learned from this process. The authors of the legislation, the planner and legal counsel, found it difficult to remain aloof from the personal and party political struggles that ensued. In retrospect, they became identified as political warriors and in winning earned political respect, although not always friendship, from those taking the opposite side. In using contest and social change strategies, the change agent may have to choose between love and respect.

The key factor in the achievement of enacting the legislation was the fact that the people involved "stayed with it" through the implementation stages. They did not fold up their planning and research instruments and silently steal away to the next planning job. *They changed hats. They prepared the legislation.* This forced them to make certain specific decisions left open or answered only vaguely in the consensus found in most planning reports. It was also important that a number of key actors in the planning process were experienced in health and welfare governmental programs and in Massachusetts politics (Curran and Demone, 1974).

David Kinzer (1972), then lobbyist of the Illinois Hospital Association, has written on the "do's and don'ts" of lobbying. He states that one should: "Tell the truth and listen. Find out what the elected official is saying. Determine who among your constituency knows the legislator (especially those who have made substantial campaign contributions). Know your legislators. Invite them to lunch. Meet with them; and learn to be political." (Kinzer notes that hospitals are the third largest business in Illinois and that elected officials now make many of the important decisions affecting the hospitals.) Develop some credits with the legislators. (In Massachusetts where the general legislative attitude toward organized medicine is negative, it is usually wise to separate the interest of hospitals from those of the medical society.) And finally, embrace the youth movement (Kinzer, 1972). Again the reader should be reminded that lobbying should not be limited to elected officials. Most continuing decisions are a function of the executive branch and its decisions can be influenced too.

THE OMBUDSMAN

A relatively new actor on the reform scene is the ombudsman, defined by the American Bar Association as:

> "an independent government official who receives complaints against government and officials from aggrieved persons, who investigates, and who, if the complaints are justified, makes recommendations to remedy complaint" (ABA, 1969, p. 1).

This definition is typical of that found in the literature, however it is incomplete in two respects. Increasingly, ombudsmen are found in private organizations in addition to government. Large nonprofit universities and newspapers are examples of such sponsoring institutions. Another tenuous point in the definition has to do with the degree of "independence" of the ombudsman. As noted later, exceptions are the rule in the United States. Anderson (1968) adds to our understanding by explaining that the Swedish word "ombud" can be translated variously as "representative, agent, attorney, solicitor, deputy, proxy, and delegates" (pp. 1-6).

The concerns of an ombudsman in an organization are principally with the information input-throughput system. By expanding and legitimizing the channels through which information can be received and disseminated, he can contribute to opening the system and identifying organizational problems which can emanate from policy, organizational, or individual sources.

Operating Functions

Ombudsmen can operate at a national or lesser governmental jurisdiction or as members of specific organizations within those jurisdictions. (A number of local school districts now have ombudsmen.) In a 1970 review of national ombudsmen officials in nine countries (not including the United States where the office does not exist nationally, although legislation to create one has been introduced on several occasions), Bernard Frank (1970) found certain common trends. The ombudsman:

(1) Is usually the creature and arm of the legislature.
(2) Is generally independent of the legislature.
(3) Is usually influential and prestigeful (this depends on effectiveness).
(4) Typically receives complaints directly from citizens about governmental agencies.
(5) Conducts an independent investigation.
(6) Uses informal, inexpensive, and rapid problem-solving procedures.
(7) Cannot give orders or impose sanctions, except in Sweden and Finland.
(8) Issues frequent reports on investigations including reasons for dismissal of complaints.
(9) Has the authority to inspect agencies.
(10) Is readily accessible and without charge to the complainant.
(11) Usually may suggest administrative or legislative remedies.

A similar review of ombudsmen-complaint handling services was conducted by Paul Dolan (1969) in nine United States cities. Similarities with and differences from the nine cities survey are important. Typically, the chief executive officer of the city appointed the ombudsman. In most of the cities the complaint body also served as an information and general service agency. Reporting and recordkeeping were generally inadequate. Ordinarily, the director was not a well known and respected figure. Staff was limited in number. Complaint procedures were increasingly formalized. (little city halls are a typical American response.) Eley (1973) studied San Diego, California, Seattle, Washington, and Dayton, Ohio and found that each of the ombudsmen were used to cut through red tape by working behind the scenes using tact and persuasion rather than legal or administrative powers. Before becoming ombudsmen, two were practicing journalists and the other a city manager. Dayton also used part-time volunteer staff.

Thus, through a point-by-point analysis, the American experience compares adversely with the non-American national ombudsmen described earlier.

Roles

Common to both the European and American experiences, ombudsmen receive complaints and investigate them and usually lack formal power over the administrative branch. In general, this formal complaint-handling mechanism has not been transplanted well, particularly in America. In addition, it has developed slowly in other countries, for it was first established in Sweden in 1808 and not adopted elsewhere until Finland replicated it in 1919 (Frank, 1970). Perhaps this delay has had to do with our level of expectations and the increasing complexity of our institutions. But, the need is apparent. The extraordinary range of complex organizations and the growth of government around the world requires some means of dealing with injustices, whatever the source.

The ombudsman is one of many alternative ways of dealing with the complex bureaucratic jungle. (Paradoxically, ombudsmen are most successful where public service standards are high and public servants view themselves as serving, not ruling the public (Eley, 1973).) Each of many forms of intervention has its value and each may play multiple roles. The courts and legislative bodies serve to correct system failures and individual bureaucratic transgressions. Yet, as the legislative bodies move intensively on matters of individual justice, their ultimate responsibility to act on large public policy issues is hampered. The courts are becoming more constrained as the public increasingly uses the formal legal apparatus with a resultant litigation explosion and backlog of cases. Further, many, perhaps most, human problems with bureaucracy may stem from simple clerical errors, laggard officials, or maladministration. Many of the problems which most aggravate the public are not matters for litigation or legislation. Historically, most problems have been handled by the offending agency itself, as well they should. Outside advocates of the type enumerated elsewhere in this monograph play additional roles. And, other interesting advocacy developments are those of the organized media, ranging from investigative reporting to "action lines." And of course, muckraking, popularized at the turn of the century, continues to serve valuable functions today.

Despite these and many other alternative intervention mechanisms, the formal grievance-complaint procedure has a role. The problem, as with all mechanisms, is to maximize its potential, minimize its weaknesses, and to recognize that it is only one part of the grand nonsystem. Although I stress the ombudsman's role in uncovering misfeasance and malfunctions, in 75-80 percent of complaints, the criticisms are found to be unjustified. Thus, the organization and the ombudsman need not be in continual conflict although some continuing tension is evident and probably essential.

Source of Referrals

Problems encountered during investigations emanate from a series of sources. They may be *individually based* — reflecting the receptionist, the clerk in the corner desk, and agency directors who have been doing it their own way for many years while the world changes around them. If this be the case, the source of the problem should be identified and dealt with on both a specific and a generalized basis. Often the problem of an individual complaint may be resolved satisfactorily but with no change in the continuing behavior of the offending actor. The infraction is continued over time with many dissatisfied but few formally complaining. Illustrations abound. The Agency Budget Director interprets laws and regulations in a way which not only inhibits the agency but is actually contrary to the practice of most other comparable agencies. The agency, its staff, and clients all suffer. For example, a public official refuses to award credit for the European *gymnasium* education as equivalent to the first two years of American college, thus affecting the status of European trained professionals. The explanation — it would be un-American to suggest that the *gymnasium* is superior to the American high school.

On many occasions, sheer rudeness, arbitrariness, arrogance, and inefficiency are at work. Retraining, better supervision, clearer regulations, transfer, demotion or discharge are available remedies. Again, the issue is an individual one and individual remedies need to be taken. In many cases, simple information is all that is needed.

Weakness

When broad scale maladministration, unfair policy, or improper policy is at work, then reform must be more sophisticated. It is at this point that the generalist ombudsman is weakest. The ombudsman can identify the manifest problems but translating these into systemic or major organizational changes may require a policy, programmatic, or agency sophistication beyond his ken. The quality of his public reports are of great importance here, for the administrative or legislative branches of government or outside advocacy organizations may have to enter into the change arena in order for his recommendations to be implemented.

Conclusion

The larger potential for reform by ombudsmen thus depends on their ability to aggregate and analyze cases so that the *casual elements* can be segregated from those which are the result of inadequate or inappropriate individual behavior. It requires a *policy sense.* It also requires effective avenues of communication in order that policymakers may be aware of the policy problems. Third, it requires an ability to design structural and systemic procedures to bring the policy in line. Fourth, it requires an ability to modify the offending policy. Finally, both bureaucrat and citizen complainant must see him as an impartial, neutral, and objective investigator (Payne, 1972, p. 96).

THE COORDINATOR

One type of change agent who plays a continuing and necessary role in all activities is the coordinator. By placing persons or activities in proper relative positions and then prompting them to achieve a common action or effort, the coordinator becomes one very essential element in the change process.

Sanctions

It is likely that all voluntary health and welfare planning councils include a prescription to coordinate among their varied responsibilities. Historically, it can be traced to the charities organization movement of the last century. Public agencies in recent years have been similarly charged. The 1966 enabling act of the Massachusetts Department of Mental Health requires that it "promote coordination." The State Developmental Disabilities Councils are similarly sanctioned, as are the State and local human services "umbrella" agencies. State agencies for the blind have found the need to plan and coordinate for more than half a century.

Warren (1973) notes there were many major national efforts to promote coordination in the 1960's, initiated by the Ford Foundation, and followed by a series of Federal programs, most particularly the Model Cities effort. A more recent development is reflected in the Nixon "New Federalism" which suggested that the failures of the 1960's were structural and that by placing responsibility at the local and State level, solutions would be found. *Coordination was a key tool.* Among the many recent Federal initiatives are the Certificate of Need component of Comprehensive Health Planning, Federal Regional Councils, Planned Variations, Annual Arrangements, and a variety of other administrative actions to promote coordination.

Elliot Richardson (1972, p. 20) when Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare urged: "It is not enough, therefore, simply to improve the ability of each provider of services to perform its particular role. We must also promote communications among the various service providers, joint planning among them, coordinated program operations, and comprehensive systems of dealing with the needs of people."

For some organizations planning and coordination are a major responsibility, while for most others it is ancillary to their service or income transfer obligations. In any case, it is an accustomed activity and one generally sanctioned and approved.

For delivery agencies the focus is on service integration among two or more organizations. For superordinate administrative, allocating, or planning bodies it usually involves stimulating the joint decisionmaking (Davidson, 1976). (That coordination has also been over sold and has some severe limitations will be discussed later.)

Benson and Kunce (1974) remind us that coordination among agencies is a complex matter. "The degree of work coordination is closely linked to that of interagency domain consensus, ideological consensus, and interagency evaluation. Furthermore, these factors are linked, in turn, to the positions of the various agencies in the larger political economy. The political economy controls key resources (money and authority) required by the agency, and therefore limits the capacities of agencies to develop viable, harmonious working relationships" (p. 32).

Justification

Such popularity must have some rational basis and it does. In Massachusetts the existence of 11 different agencies all having some legal responsibilities for alcohol problems and all separately reporting to the Governor were reason enough to require coordination in 1956 legislation regarding alcoholism. In a 1972 study of substance abusers and programs in one neighborhood of Boston, 30 different substance abuse activities could be identified. It was clear that collectively a substantial programmatic and financial effort was in order. The degree of effectiveness of this pluralistic cottage nonsystem could

be seriously challenged. The agencies were unaware of the extensive effort in their own area, they seldom worked together, and their potential neighborhood consumers were equally unaware of the wealth resources available to them. Similar examples abound.

Goal

Thus the goal of coordination is usually toward rationalization of the service-delivery pattern. Sometimes it aims toward reduction of duplication with cost-effectiveness emphasized. In other situations the objective is to enhance continuity of care and to make sure that the clients' varying needs are not hampered by over restrictive admission policies or barriers caused by specialization. Another theme of coordination is an effort to bring organizations together in voluntary ongoing relationships. Its emphasis is usually on service providers. Coordination is not policy or prevention oriented except as policy or prevention organizations may need to be better related to each other. Its particular virtue as a policy tool is that it requires the coordinator to work interorganizationally thus broadening the view of systems and policy issues. In a sense it is usually, or should be, a form of group planning and problem-solving.

Examples

Some illustrations may clarify the function. (A) The Corning Glass Company (Chambers, Mullick, and Goodman, 1971), a complex organization in a competitive industry, was dissatisfied with their problem-solving competence. Their solution was to use a modified Delphi prediction method with a coordinator. They determined that their management teams were inhibited by two major constraints; they lacked the information and/or due to interpersonal problems within the group were unable to deal effectively with data.

They then decided to use a coordinator in their group problem-solving. The experience is described as a success. To enhance the coordinative role, he was selected from outside the involved departments which were being coordinated to ensure his disinterest and impartiality. He was not allowed to act as a group leader or even to be a formal member of the group. His assignment was to work with the group members to assure the identification and availability of the necessary data and to help the group to clarify issues and to reach effective solutions. As such he met individually with all the members and acted as a neutral, logical feedback source of anonymous opinions. By performing this function, he enabled the follow-up. Meeting sites were neutral or rotating to avoid any hint of a predetermined solution. Following a decision he withdrew from further consultation.

(B) In the health field the "Heart Disease, Cancer and Stroke" Federal legislation of 1965 (Regional Medical Programs) had as a major thrust the coordination of large teaching hospitals with physicians practicing in nearby communities. In reducing the gap between gown and town, it was assumed that the quality of medical care would be enhanced. A number of features were involved: research, demonstrations, continuing education, consultation and more formal arrangements between the teaching centers and the community physicians. Torrens (1969) notes certain minimal requirements if coordination is to have any effect: the medical center must reach out to the local physician; the move must be strongly sanctioned by the hospital; people must be assigned to the task; the coordinators must be identified clearly and easily reached; the target population must see some real personal and professional advantages; and finally, it takes staff, time, and effort.

(C) Another example of coordination is the public school system seeking varying physical education activities for its retarded youngsters and joining together with the State authority which operates ice skating rinks having little or no use during school hours. One organization has the underutilized resource and the other the needy constituency. A program of benefit to both was easily developed and implemented.

(D) Side by side in a densely populated area can be found a large YMCA and a city recreation park. Day and night summer programming for each organization acting

separately was beyond their capacity. Joint programming with the staff viewed as a whole and accommodated to the restrictive public personnel policies allowed for a substantial increase of organized recreation provided to a population lacking financial resources to purchase its own activities.

Barriers

Thus just as examples of organizations needing coordination abound, so do examples of successful interorganizational arrangements. But there are severe limits conceptually and in practice. It is relatively easy to persuade organizations to meet together, but to persuade them *to share* real resources or *to modify* their actions is substantially more difficult. Demone and Newman (1970) described some of the barriers as: divergent ideology or beliefs, unwillingness to acknowledge need for change, apathy, personality factors, and reality factors. People and organizations work together when it is in their self-interest to do so or at least when they are assured they will suffer no loss. Physicians refer only to physicians of unlike specialities, family agencies to nonfamily agencies. *They will coordinate only on unrelated client issues.* In addition, Warren (1973) notes that most important issues are controversial, involving respective interests which do not coincide. "The dynamics of such voluntary coalitions act to restrict the areas of coordination to unimportant minutiae while dodging the important issues or to exclude from the coordinative decision making process those actors who disagree with the dominant preferences" (p. 358).

Results

The impact of the coordinator, a facilitator of acceptance change, is inevitably partial by nature. Even when an uninvolved coordinator is selected, the final outcome of a coordinated or mediated solution favor one party or the other.

Thus, as Seidman (1970, p. 168) reminds us, "coordination is rarely neutral. To the extent that it results in mutual agreement or a decision on some policy, course of action, or inaction, inevitably it advances some interest at the expense of others." Warren (1973) summarizes the latent consequences of the coordination strategy as: strengthening existing agencies, reducing competition, focusing on the service strategy, and giving service agencies a major role in determining resource allocation among others. To Warren, coordination is a limited tool and not designed for macrochainge.

Utilization

My approach to this type of change agentry is not as negative as Warren's. True coordination has limits but so do all intervention tools. Is any one tool designed exclusively for macrochange? Is any tool fail proof? In a field of many neutrals, it has its advantages as do all of the available choices. If criticism is justified, it is the tendency over the years to ask more of this one tool than can reasonably be expected and to *assume* that *communication will lead directly to coordination* and *coordination to major change.* There are situations in which a choice to use this tactic should be made. I will close this chapter by describing how and when this tactic should be used.

Where to Implement

Litwak and Myer (1966) in analyzing how a formal organization may attempt to coordinate (influence) external primary groups, identify a series of mechanisms. Essentially, they examine five major coordinating and administrative combination mechanisms. They are:

(1) Human relations administrative style with detached expert, opinion leader, and settlement house mechanisms.
(2) Rationalistic administrative style with formal authority, voluntary association, mass media, and common messenger mechanisms.

(3) Professional administrative style with combinations of mechanisms from both preceeding items.
(4) Mismatched administrative style and mechanisms of coordination, e.g., human relations style and formal authority.
(5) Nonmerit administrative style and any mechanisms.

One example of their first mechanism would be the social worker or visiting nurse participating directly with local groups — a true detached expert.

Coordination may also be caused by the stature of one organization: a city administration or United Way may require it of its affiliates. Between more or less equals, where neither has any direct control over the other cooperating units, coordination is a necessity.

Demone and Newman suggest a variety of techniques to be used by the coordinator. First we urge a system diagnosis, suggesting that knowledge about the problem is essential. Next we urge relationship building, with involvement following. Thus, if implementation is necessary, the key actors responsible for decisionmaking and follow-through should be given every opportunity to participate. Continuous feedback and communication, securing sanctions, using special skills and technology, and learning the language, are all activities for which additional expertise is recommended.

In closing, to maximize coordination—and no organization is entirely free to do as it wants and must coordinate at some time — a series of cautions is noted:

- Know your goals.
- Identify and work with the power structure, ascribed and achieved.
- Look for those situations where some felt need already exists.
- Accommodate to incrementalism as an essential feature of coordination.
- Stay with it for resistance may change.
- Good will is essential.

Planning for change is an intricate and complicated assignment. Coordination is a useful tool, although most of the time it is too highly promoted as a cure all. The key to its use is first, an awareness of the appropriate context for this type of change agentry. Once this is accompanied, applicability in a given situation can be addressed.

THE ADVOCATE

Advocacy has classical origins as an essential component of the practice of law. Similarly, the physician advocate — speaks for his patient. Social workers have traditionally intervened on behalf of their clients, as architects do for their clients. The ombudsman (described earlier in this volume) functions similarly. Most, perhaps all, client-serving professions would define representation of their client as a legitimate and time-honored task. Why then the current focus on advocacy? (And why the knee-jerk reaction, the negative reactions to the current emphasis on advocacy?)

A contemporary form of advocacy is advocacy planning, advocating for a group rather than an individual. An evaluation of a seven city Office of Economic Opportunity project demonstrated that advocacy planning did work. In particular the OEO project achieved the following: (1) it generated changes in urban planning and implementation particularly in urban renewal housing and transportation; and (2) it provided community residents with a significant voice in local and State government programs. It was found to be a systems reform effort directed at organizations distributing services and resources. Militancy and confrontation were found to occupy a small proportion of the advocacy effort. Five major advocacy planning roles were defined: technical consultant, broker-spokesman, community educator, community organizer, and manpower developer. The first two roles, technical consultant and broker-spokesman, were generally universal right from the beginning; the latter three roles became increasingly important over time.

Among the conclusions of Kirschner Associates, the study group conducting the above mentioned evaluation, were that: (1) there was no single best model, (2) advocacy groups should avoid program operation, (3) professional planners should continue to be the foundation of program staff, and (4) planners should attempt to increase clients' capabilities by offering technical alternatives to planning problems and by providing training programs in technically related subjects (*Action*, 1971).

Definition

Contemporary social theorists naturally have developed descriptions of advocacy and what it should be. The following statements include their views on the advocacy role.

In their review of the social welfare literature, Gilbert and Specht (1976) point out that advocacy is defined variously. To some it is consumer education, civil rights, and social protest. Others have used it to encompass referral, social brokerage, and a big borther program for the developmentally disabled.

Briar (1968, p. 90) defined the advocate as ". . . his client's supporter, his advisor, his champion, and if need be, his representative in his dealings with court, the police, the social agency, and other organizations that (affect) his well being." The primary allegiance of the worker is to the client not to the employer.

Brager (1968, p. 32) describes the advocate as one who ". . . identifies with the plight of the disadvantaged. He sees as his primary responsibility the tough-minded and partisan representation of their interest, and this supersedes his fealty to others."

Arnstein (1970, p. 33) posits an advocacy model which aims ". . .at aiding the poor to reach increased levels of sophistication about what makes the city system (and subsystems) tick, to learn who and where the power holders are and which levers to press to effect action, and to incorporate such sophistication into concrete programmatic approaches."

Hartman (1970) views advocacy for the poor as directed toward planning for power for political and social change. The community should be organized and helped to understand the workings of the ". . . system by which it is oppressed" (p.37). It will then direct its political capacity to both short and long-range goals — power and resources.

Peattie (1968) views advocacy planning as a new type of politics. On one hand it is a way by which local urban interests can express themselves politically. Next it can be a

means to deal with issues not unique to a single local community. Finally it is another channel for people to humanize their bureaucracy, a new way for political expression.

The Davidoffs suggest that advocacy can take place without a specific client. They illustrate this point by their work aimed at changing public policy about urban development to make job opportunities and land more available in the suburbs.

The Community Crisis Intervention group at Washington University, St. Louis, suggests several possible roles for the advocate: (1) community organizer, (2) strategist, (3) technical assistant, (4) resource expander, and (5) "go-between" (Kohn, 1972).

Clearly many of the contemporary definitions of advocacy involve intense involvement in process, including participation in the confrontation or crises. The activist advocate lives fully and personally in the change effort, being totally identified with it. Thus, they may: organize, seek out support and community leadership, develop strategies and tactics, participate in goal formulation, gather and analyze information, solicit outside help and resources, and challenge those controlling needed resources (Blum, Cohen, and Kohn, 1972).

Advocacy means many things to many people as is obvious from the cited definitions. Often the term is used interchangeably in some settings with the previously discussed ombudsman.

Advocacy implies conflicting beliefs or practices. If there was no contention, no trouble, advocacy would be unnecessary. The advocate is usually, as is a coordinator, an outsider. In addition, peculiar to the advocate, he favors one party over another and is not asked to be neutral.

As noted earlier, planners, social workers, physicians, lawyers, and architects may plead the case of an individual or group as an advocate on their part. Obviously, advocacy for years has been used and recognized as a change function role. It is essentially built into and understood to be the role of a lawyer. Levy (1974) dates it back to the beginning of organized social work although it was not explicitly defined as such at the time. All planning should include advocacy, in the sense that the planning is an effort to solve problems and to implement the problem-solving plan. Thus, in the late 1960's and early 1970's, the focus on advocacy was a *means* to better meet the needs of the poor and those discriminated against. It contained a potential militant component. More recently the focus has been on advocating on behalf of all handicapped groups whatever the cause or nature of the handicapping condition.

Values and Ideologies

Kaplan (1968) distinguishes between values and ideology for the advocate. The value system of the advocate planner should be based on humanism — helping to expand the choices of the poor. Ideologies, whether on the left or the right, too often involve using the poor to enhance the planner-advocate's personal ideology. "Given the complex problems facing the poor, plans premised on ideologies are at best irrelevant and at worst harmful to the specific interest of the poor, for they represent unreal, often misplaced, abstractions" (Kaplan, 1968, p. 76). An ideologically based approach is necessarily deductive. The complicated nature of the problems of the urban poor call for an inductive approach. Lourie (1972) reminds us that our ideology is still partly rooted in the Elizabethan Poor Law which requires that the individual give up his claim to full citizenship in exchange for assistance. Thus the poor were ineligible and not entitled to the rights of other citizens. It is clear, that to many, public welfare assistance is still conditional on the behavior of the recipient and is not a right. Thus advocacy on behalf of a guaranteed annual income or benefits more consistent with the actual cost of living and inflation flies in the face of strongly held historically rooted beliefs. *Poverty is still perceived as a personal, not a societal problem.*

Why Advocacy?

As with most of the other change methods discussed herein, advocacy is another tool to help make the unpredictable more predictable, to give people more control over their

own destiny. Advocacy planning, which implies that people with technical competencies are aiding populations lacking skills to better their case, is not an illogical development. The growth of complexity, bureaucracy, and technology have all been noted. Groups already disadvantaged in the political and socioeconomic processes become even more so when dealing with technocrats.

Typically when the "have nots" are asked to describe what it is they want most, jobs, better housing, a better education for their children, effective transportation, and safe streets are the most common responses. Their dream, is the American dream. They may need assistance to achieve these goals.

Who Does Advovacy Planning?

Although relieable data is not available the burst of advocacy planning in the decade of 1965-1975 from all appearances served to stimulate a group of planners who were young, middle or upper middle class in origin, ideologically commited to change, risk oriented, less identified with their profession, locally oriented, and because of their youth less technically sophisticated. Hatch (1968) suggests that their underlying value is the need for the disenfranchized to control their own destiny — the "participation ethic."

Additionally, for emotional survival the advocate planner must be comfortable with short-range achievements even though the rhetoric may focus on major change. Also noteworthy among advocacy planners is their rejection of the classical city planning ethos which separates planners from politics and politicians. This in turn makes planners into technocrats. . . Advocacy planners are action oriented.

An important development in advocacy planning over the last several years is the practice of public interest law, now formally acknowledged by the courts to be the "private attorney's general" (Carter, 1974). Although still in a modest state of development, one can already see some significant and important results. Public interest law, of course, has many prior antecedants in civil rights law, poverty law, and other efforts at litigation for specific publics or subpublics.

Specifically, public interest law is interested in those issues which affect many more people than the specific plaintiffs who precipitated the suit.

Examples are found in the range of suits or administrative actions which have been brought on behalf of people attempting to: stop or to reduce the effect of air water, and noise pollution on the general populus; halt the marketing, advertising, general distribution of potentially harmful drugs, pesticides or toys; reduce the extent of violence on t.v.; for the utility companies to justify their rate increases or to reverse them; and remove restrictions on voting rights, or female participation in Little Leagues. It is true that litigation could be highly beneficial to the person bringing the suit, but the fundamental characteristic of public interest law is that the people responsible for bringing the suit to court or before administrative bodies are not seeking personal benefit as a consequence of the damages, but are rather concerned about enjoining or regulating the act of some other body or organization. The principle problem in the development of an effective subspecialty in public interest law is the result of its major virtue: financial gain is not the major objective. If that is the case, who is to hire public interest lawyers? (See chapter on judicial development).

In the fields of mental health and retardation, the concerns of public interest lawyers have already had a significant effect on the many institutions specializing in mental illness and retardation. There are few public institutions that meet the standards established by the various States for private facilities and this dual standard is obviously a very tenuous one. Even if they were to meet the standards, it could still be possible that the standards for all institutions were too low, and intervention in the courts would still be possible, if only to meet the minimum constitutional rights of all citizens.

Since the nation's law schools seem to be producing a surfeit of young lawyers and the ideology of many of these young people was influenced by the civil rights movement of the 1960's and early 1970's, it is possible that we are in for a period of growth for public interest suits. The extraordinary interest in the environment, proceedings conducted by

the Food and Drug Administration in respect to the marketing or the experimental use of drugs, and the suits in respect to the retarded, all pose evidence of the significant effect which has already occurred. Only the United States Supreme Court could slow down this development, and there is some evidence that they have begun to do so. Of all of the advocacy subspecialities, public interest law is by far the most important and most significant in its potential affect on large scale public and private policy issues.

Another popular current form of advocacy is found in community mental health and retardation. The Joint Commission on The Mental Health of Children (1969) highlighted the advocacy process. Recommended was a series of Federal, State and local councils with broad community representation to assess needs, plan for services to meet the needs, and obtain resources to implement the services (but not to provide the care). In other words, they would be advocacy bodies. They neglected funding (indirect services are not popular), thus such councils have not made a significant impact.

In mental health as part of the general community mental health movement, a number of programs use paraprofessional mental health workers to act as advocates on behalf of the clients who need services from other community agencies (Ozarian and Thomas, 1972). Their task is to make sense of the fragmented, specialized, pluralistic care giving system on a case basis. They help to complete referrals.

Alternative Roles

Panitch (1974) poses a case to illustrate the alternative roles available to a worker. "A recent state law eliminated clothing grants. Three children in the family receiving public aid were sent home the first day of school because of inadequate clothing" (p. 329).

Given this simple case, the worker has a series of alternative roles. The worker could: (1) secure a donation of clothing; (2) assist the mother in dealing with her possible psychological depression; (3) guide the mother in developing a workable budget; (4) bring a child neglect charge against the mother; (5) lobby for a reversal of the law which eliminated clothing grants; (6) lobby for higher income payments; (7) refer the case as a prototype to a planning or advocacy body; and (8) a combination of the above.

Clearly only alternatives five and six are direct advocacy, number seven is an indirect form. On what basis does the worker make a decision? To accomplish either of the adverserial procedures, the worker must understand Federal, State, and perhaps local laws and regulations, be sophisticated in the political process, have lots of allies or the ability to recruit them, have time, perseverance, and agency support.

Variations in the above are also possible. Having uncovered a single case, a study may be undertaken to determine the universality of the findings and to collect more cases to use as ammunition in the planned public relations campaign. Public hearings could be called and witnesses could testify as to negative effect of the new law. The media would, of course, be solicited. Discussions with other agencies facing similar problems should be initiated quickly. Allies are recruited and information clarified. An ad hoc committee or coalition could be formed. Loan of staff should be solicited from interested parties. Perhaps a local foundation would be willing to make a small financial grant. A site for the committee, including stationery, press release forms, and a telephone is necessary; usually an interested organization will make them available free of charge.

The campaign is now escalated. Meetings are held. Press releases distributed. Speaking engagements are solicited. Participation in radio talk shows is encouraged. Articulate members of the oppressed group are especially trained to speak in a variety of settings.

The coalition is expanded. Formal positions are taken by the boards of as many organizations as can be recruited. Their position statements are released to the media and forwarded to the key actors in the executive and legislative branches.

- Legal counsel is recruited to determine whether legal action is feasible.
- An appeal is made through the customary administrative procedures.
- Direct contact with key legislators and the executive branch is initiated.
- Allies are sought to introduce legislation to repeal the offending statute.

- Petitions are circulated.
- Demonstrations are held.
- The clients are organized as a free standing group.

Successes

Unquestionably, legal advocacy has had its effect and much of it positive, probably most significantly in the famous 1954 Brown v. Board of Education Supreme Court decision and most recently in decisions regarding the negative influences of institutionalization.

If a revolution is needed — a violent overturning of the current political, economic, social, and power structure — then advocacy as described in this chapter and most of the other means of social change described herein, are palliatives. If on the other hand one is to work within the current system which focuses mostly on incremental — evolutionary rather than revolutionary change — then the change strategies including advocacy have legitimacy.

Cautions

Peattie (1968) identified certain problems, as a result of working with Urban Planning Aid, a not-for-profit organization offering technical and advocacy assistance to low income communities. Neighborhood boundaries were often unclear. The network of social relationships among people seldom clustered neatly in "neighborhoods." It was extramely difficult to identify the client. Most locally based community organizations were self-selected in membership. The heterogeneity of most urban neighborhoods is well known. The lower-lower class seldom participate in such organizations. What is the community interest? Who makes the decisions?

Boston's West End, famous for its urban renewal, and South Boston, famous for its opposition to integrated schools, were neither Italian nor Irish respectively. In both cases the largest single ethnic group constituted less than half of the population of these neighborhoods. Appeals to ethnic pride and cultural identity leave many residents outside of the maintstream.

Peattie suggests that the result of effective advocacy planning for neighborhoods ". . . might be a general closing-up of the city against the poor, especially the sorts of 'problematic poor' represented by gypsies and families on AFDC (Aid for Families with Dependent Children)" (p. 84).

Ghetto communities and low income communiities are like most urban communities — they are many communities depending upon the interest of the moment. Appeals to them have to be much more sophisticated than many of the efforts in the past.

Hobby (1972) rejects the notion that professionals truly can be advocates for the socially oppressed or economically deprived groups. As limiting factors he suggests differences in social class, education, residential arrangements, and employment by a formal institution, individually or collectively. He acknowledges that short-range goals can be achieved by the use of professionals but sees them as disfunctional for they are ". . . merely delaying the inevitable revolution" (Hobby, 1972, p. 5). The revolution is defined as a major redistribution of resources and power and a significant alteration of societal values.

Piven (1970) expresses considerable concern about involving the urban poor in advocacy planning. She states ". . . involving local groups in elaborate planning procedures is to guide them into a narrowly circumscribed form of political action, and precisely that form for which they are least equipped (p. 35). Rather Piven suggests the political power of the urbanized poor and blacks rests in street disruptions and the voting booth — political mobilization.

Kaplan (1968) sees the white professional as a more constructive influence working in the black community. He recognizes that in periods of acute black-white tension the role of the white professional is complicated. Nevertheless he offers a framework to enhance the working arrangement. The client group establishes the frame of reference including

the normative definition of role, process, and product. Written contracts with a 24-hour notice clause are also suggested.

On several occasions I have referred to the issue of professional roles relative to the various change strategies under discussion. Gilbert and Specht (1976) discuss advocacy and social work ethics and raise some questions of equal relevance to all of the helping professions. To Schwartz (1969) the conflict about the role of advocacy in social work was the "grand daddy" (p. 25) of social work dilemmas. Gilbert and Specht (1976, p. 292) suggest that ". . . the fervor and good intentions surrounding recent prescriptions for advocacy must be tempered by equally intense concern for client self-determination."

The Advocate and the Scientist, an Example of Role Strains

Adams (1973), a social worker specializing in developmental disabilities and an advocate for the disabled in a training, research, diagnostic, and treatment center, identifies a series of problems unique to the client advocate working with the research scientist. Cross purposes between the two professional orientations are identified as (1) immediate response vs. future gains; (2) supportive help vs. prevention; and (3) individual good vs. common good. Illustrations abound. If the retardate indicates unwillingness to participate in the research program, what role should the client advocate play? What position should the advocate take? And what about the parents? Three sets of actors are identified; the researcher, the client, and the parents of the client. Another example has to deal with informed consent to transplant the kidney of severely retarded youth to his twin brother. Issues of abortion, chromosome testing, and genetic counseling are common.

Is the advocate a worker for the client, or society? Who decides? In the name of self-determination and privacy should parents be permitted to produce defective offspring when safe preventive measures are available? The Davidoffs (1970) suggest that when the professional planner engages in advocacy he tends to politicize issues and to move planning decisions from nonpolitical to political areans. Does the analysis always have to be radical as suggested by some writers? Is political organizing always necessary? Is the current system always wrong? Does advocacy planning always imply a partisan commitment to the group for whom advocacy is taking place? Can it be the result of rational analysis?

Who makes the choice of the contending arena? If the problem is inadequate public housing, low public welfare payments, or high mortality rates to whom does one advocate? *Scribner (1970) suggests that the choice of the arena may well be the most important decision of all.* Often the choice is made on the basis of the technical skills of the consultant, not on the basis of a systems diagnosis. The consultant works where comfortable and familiar.

Conclusions

Throughout this text I have noted that many of the more popular change strategies are value and ideologically based. They are often focused on small systems, (e.g., neighborhood, community, agency, etc.). Yet little decisionmaking and power is locality based. National policy decisions are increasingly important.

Kohn (1972) lists the advantages and disadvantages of using an advocate from the perspective of a community group. Assuming certain competencies in the advocate-organizing, planning, knowledge of resources, technical competence, ability to communicate with opponents, and the need for those skills — one may employ and advocate.

Having come to an agreement, certain cautions should be exercised. The advocate may unwittingly press an opinion and solution on the group. He may press the group to progress faster than it is able. The "go-between" role is a delicate and tenuous one. The advocate may be so committed to long-range goals that short-range objectives may be foresaken. On the contrary, he may be co-opted by the group with whom he is negotiating. Alternatively, a group can be too dependent on the advocate.

Future of Advocacy

It is likely that neighborhood planning will become much less popular over the next decade than over the decade just past. There will be a considerably lower visibility for advocacy planing. Youthful advocates are burning out and will not be fully replaced when they leave the field. Increasingly and dramatically blacks and Hispanics will be doing most of the planning for their neighborhood and community groups. Poor whites will still be underrepresented as advocacy planners for their communities.

The client revolution will see an expanded definition of client groups. When perceived as low-income, principally black and Hispanic, political strength is limited. Combined with other client groups, (e.g., physically handicapped) who are much more likely to be dominated by the white population, a renaissance in client advocacy could be developing. The battle lines will be changed and limited, however. The focus will become increasingly specific, directed to achieveable categorical ends.

Thus we will see a continuing growth in *categorical* advocacy planning for specific client groups, the physically handicapped, the retarded, the aged, etc. Concomitantly we will continue to see a reduction in neighborhood or community planning or planning for income based groups. Decreasing public support will guarantee the latter change. The third development, the field of public interest law, is less clear. As noted earlier the number of young lawyers interested in public interest law has expanded: the financial base has not. Recent decisions by the United States Supreme Court which have reflected a much more conservative view of such issues as zoning and deinstitutionalization, may be a strong limiting force in the growth of practices for young attorneys interested in careers in public interest law.

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

The citizen participation movement is a congerie of multiple phenomena and has long since outlasted the typical fad. Its importance cannot be underestimated. The Van Tills (1970, p. 313) factor citizen participation into six classes: "elite coalitions," "politics of reform," "citizen advice," "pluralistic participation," "client participation," "or grassroots participation." Other classifications follow.

Popularity

As additional evidence that citizen participation is not merely another fad, David Mathews, former HEW Secretary, established a Department Task Force on Citizen Participation in 1976. The goal was to open the Department to a greater degree of public interaction and citizen involvement. The Task Force operated in an environment replete with other efforts to make government more responsive. The United Nations Conference on Human Settlements, Report of the Third Committee on HABITAT, 1976, gave special attention to the responsibility of governments to attain public participation. Comparable American efforts were found in the Federal Advisory Committee Act (PL 92-463), the Freedom of Information Act (PL 93-502), and the Sunshine Act (PL 94-409). DHEW itself has approximately 90 programs which call for citizen participation. The OEO and Model Cities program were almost classical examples of this thrust. More programmatic examples are found in the Community Mental Health, Health Systems and Developmental Disabilities Acts.

The HEW Task Force described citizen participation as ". . .bubbling up all around us — a force whose time has come again" (*Federal Register*, 11/10/76, p. 49774). The HEW goals were direct, clear, reasonable objectives for all human service organizations, public and private: (1) "provide procedures and structure that ensure citizen participation in the governmental system, and (2) inform citizens (including public officials) about and encourage them to use those procedures and structures."

Procedures used or recommended by HEW, and generally applicable elsewhere include: mandated advisory or policymaking boards or councils; the use of paraprofessionals; the use of partially or nonpaid volunteers; parent participation procedures; requirements that citizens participate in public annual plans; the holding of periodic public hearings; and needs assessment and client satisfaction studies or other surveys. Most of these mandated procedures are the result of HEW regulations or program guidance.

These objectives, although simply stated, are less easily achieved. The debates about citizen participation are often more ideological than functional. Process is often more desired than product. It smacks of the long-standing debates about community organization. It has long been argued that the long-range objectives — to educate, to inform, to prepare — were the essential ones. To prepare people over time to fully participate in their democracy was what it was all about.

The debates will continue and hopefully the experiments will also continue. The underlying principle enumerated by John Stuart Mill in 1875 (p. 39) still stands: "The most important point of excellence which any government can possess is to promote the virtue and willingness of the people themselves."

The planner or community organizer interested in maximizing citizen participation needs thus enter the arena with eyes wide open. The many studies of participation in Urban Renewal, OEO, Model Cities, and Community Development programs consistently found a less than 5 percent turn out in community elections. I lived in an exurban New England town with an open town meeting; a turnout of under 5 percent is the rule. In one neighboring town, 2 percent of the voters will turn out to vote on the annual $10 million budget. Only a proposed dog leash ordinance will bring out 10 percent of the voters (Putnam, 1977). Nor are the suburbs or cities different. Participation, or lack of it, seems to be independent of income. Richards and Goody (1977) and many others conclude that

citizen participation is a myth if it implies substantial participation in government operations. It does manifest itself "in the public values that integrate the policy of both local and national communities" (p. 68).

The Van Tills (1970) found similar results in their general review of studies conducted of OEO and Model Cities programs. By the time the cycle has been completed the role of the poor or their representatives is to advise, not control, the service agencies. The staff, middle class professionals, or upward mobile poor play the key roles. The new organizational objectives emerge "as a noncontroversial consensus of service agencies to improve institutional output, integrate delivery, and promote civil well being" (p. 319).

Advisory Committees, Trustees, Boards of Director and Commission are among some of the organized ways people participate in and influence their public and private organizations. They may also serve as individual volunteers in hospitals, school and social agencies, playing highly significant roles in client care — but although important to the client served, this volunteer role is not designed for significant organized policy input and thus will not be discussed further. (As individuals, they may also act to correct specific injustices.)

The Hospital Trustee: An Example

A tradition in the health system, the trustee role, is represented by the hospital or health agency Board of Directors. The hospital model is the most classic, and since hospital costs represent more than 40 percent of all health costs it will be used as an example. The nonprofit voluntary general hospital, traditionally financed principally by the fees of individual users and philanthropic donations, has been governed by large givers—those financial influentials in the community who could most easily help to reduce the hospitals annual operating deficit. Involved in policymaking and problem solving, they become personally invested in the institution and work for its excellence, continuance, and financial stability. It is also suggested that hospitals are essentially business corporations differentiated primarily by their not-for-profit status. Eppert (1968) notes that businesses and hospitals both must plan, do research, schedule, have legal competency, cope with financial problems (debts, receivables, payables, cash flow, depreciation, and maintenance and capital expenditures), and develop marketing skills. There are differences of course, dividends in hospitals go to the patients in better health care. There is no stockholder equity and there is no profit or loss statement as a performance measure. If the trustees' function is perceived as fundraising it is clear that the capacity to influence significant givers is the essential competence. If their function is perceived as policymaking, then entree to the wealthy community of givers is not necessarily required, as policy is neither a technology nor the property of any economic class. If the Board is also invested in organizational problem solving (e.g., finance, research, personnel, etc.) then certain management skills would be required. Although the latter are not necessarily a function of the upper classes, they do reflect certain professional technologies frequently found in the upper-middle and lower-upper classes.

Thus the determination of function significantly influences the types of people chosen to serve as Board members of hospitals and other human service institutions. In turn, this helps to better understand the problems of the community and consumer control and participation debates of the 1960's — rhetoric or reality. To reiterate, if the trustees' principal function is to raise money then they cannot be representative of the community, for money and influence are equally distributed throughout the community.

But hospitals are no longer principally financed via philanthropic donations. Third party arrangements now dominate hospital financing and as prepaid procedures are expanded, especially if a national health insurance plan is adopted, the requirement of financially elite boards will be increasingly less significant.

Another role requirement suggested above is the management technical consultant role and participation in the implementation of intraorganization administrative policies. The lawyer board members contribute their time as individuals or through service on standing

or ad hoc committees on legal and related issues. The bankers and investment counselors advise on financial matters. The trustee partner of the large accounting firm participates in the development of more effective cost control systems. The net result is that highly competent people giving of their skills and time enhance the organization's competence and reduce what otherwise would be direct costs to the hospital. But it can be determined that need for effective public policy dictates that representativeness in boards is more important than the free skills of the professional and managerial elite. Costs may increase as a result, but as hospitals are enlarged in size and complexity, the capacity to effectively capitalize on the skills or volunteer trustees is likely to be reduced anyway.

I am suggesting that there have been very real reasons for hospital and similar boards to be dominated by the financial, social, and technical elite. A Greater Detroit study in 1971 found that hospitals were:

> "dominated by business executives, members of the legal and accounting professions, and spokesmen for medicine and hospitals. Representatives of the consumer and the general community are very seriously underrepresented" (Goldberg and Hemmelgarn, 1971).

Underlying this discussion is one of role and function. The trustees should be maximally functional in time and space. If hospitals are changing, trustees should reflect the changing needs. One can reasonably predict that voluntary not-for-profit general hospitals will be required to make increasing organizational changes in succeeding decades. Many will be eliminated as too small or inefficient. Others will be incorporated into prepaid group plans or health maintenance organizations. Some will eliminate certain services and share with others institutions. Others will merge. Financial incentives and controls will increase. The most significant policy decisions will increasingly be made at a distance from the given hospital, and most will be public decisions. They will be required to cooperate with others. The focus will be on preventing hospitalization or stimulating earlier discharge. Alternatives will be expanded. Both health care delivery and management will become increasingly technical and complex. If these and other trends reasonably reflect the likely changes, should governing boards of volunteers be continued, and if so what roles should they play?

Mental Health/Retardation Boards: An Example

Meyers and his colleagues (1977) in their studies of the 40 mental health/retardation citizen area boards in Massachusetts found that these citizen groups, although organized as a result of a common State legislative mandate, operated quite differently. The boards serving areas averaging 150,000 people each were differentiated by emphasis on local autonomy, coordination, service creation and improvement, and outside resource mobilization. Environmental forces substantially impacted on those citizen groups. Boards most concerned with local automony were from communities low in blue collar workers and high in socioeconomic status. Coordination focus was associated with areas high in social disorganization and blue collar residents with low socio-economic status. Boards invested in both creating and improving services served catchment areas very high in social disorganization. The citizen groups concerned with mobilizing outside resources were located in urban, heavily ethnic, Irish and Italian areas.

Thus, Meyers et al. (1977) reinforce the underlying premise of this chapter. Despite a common statutory base and common goals, citizen groups will vary in choice of strategy by environmental influences and shifting functions. The planner and organizer who insist on a single monolithic operating model for all citizen groups will undoubtedly fail unless the major demographic, ecological, and ethnic considerations are also common.

To illustrate, area boards composed principally of urban Irish and Italian members were traditionally skillful in impacting on the political structure, thus not surprisingly, they inclined naturally to the political strategy. They pressed on the Governor, Legislature and Commissioner for more resources.

Groups focusing on coordination were concentrated in areas high in problems, low in political influence, and low in professional skills among board members. Their strategy was to marshal their existing resources so that performance was maximized.

Changing Roles for Citizen Boards

I suggest that as hospitals and other human service voluntary associations are increasingly bureaucratized (the inevitable consequence of the above developments), citizen boards will become more, not less, important but that their roles will change. They will still raise money but its proportion of the annual operating budget will continue to shrink thus reducing the importance of this function. They will continue to play technical advisory roles but increasingly these technological needs will be filled by full-time staff, or purchased as necessary from other organizations. The trustee policy roles will be delimited by governmental and third-party statutes and regulations. Contrariwise, their input role will gain importance as they are increasingly required to serve as a bridge from the community and consumer to the health care and management technocrats. Their principal function will be to act as an early warning system to prevent the institutions from succumbing to the natural organizational tendency towards inflexibility and dehumanization.

Issues

The Holy Grail of the 1960's Office of Economic Opportunity was the "maximum feasible participation" of the poor in the policy and decisionmaking of local community action agencies. These were significant experiences and their implication to the human service industry will be discussed now based upon the hospital trustee as an ideal type. "Hope-hustle," "real-unreal," "opportunity-snare" are all judgments made at one time or another of the maximum feasible paricipation policy. In the discussion of hospital trustees it was suggested that ideology must be separated from reality and that a pragmatic analysis of functions related to time is the relevant analytic frame.

One point of confusion has to do with the equation of poor with consumer, with community with citizen, and the equation of each separately and collectively with the common good. But they are often not the same. The confusion is significant for it identifies some larger issues. Hershey (1970) suggests "America must face the challenge of increasing urbanization and societal scale, exploding technological development, and continued growth of bureaucracy if it is to remain a free and democratic society." The terms alienation, estrangement, and distance have all been used many times by many critics and although they do reflect a broad gestalt, it is possible to sharpen the issues within the frame of citizen participation. One critical set of variables, essentially nonclass, nonethnic, nonsex, and nonrace related, are the problems created by the increasing scope and complexity of modern science. Some of our young and not-so-young people are raising serious questions about the effects of technology and its unbridled influence. Carroll (1971) and Mesthene (1969) have described it as "the antitechnology spirit that is abroad in the land." Complementary to these developments and concerns is the growing realization that our social goals are increasingly technologically dependent. To Marcuse (1964) "...what is at stake is the redefinition of values in technical terms, as elements in the technological process" (p. 232). Carroll (1971) describes participatory technology as one of the countervailing strategies to make science and technology more responsive.

Essentially it is a development which brings people into control over the agents of technology. This development, as with others described in this monograph, also implies increasing dissatisfaction with the workings of representative democracy at the elected and bureaucratic levels. The fact that the solutions create new problems will be discussed later.

In addition to the technical vs. nontechnical dichotomy, the current participation-control ethic can also be cast in other terms: racial; ethnic; social class; local autonomy vs. larger community; citizen vs. bureaucracy; civil servants vs. elected officials; and consumer vs. provider. And this analysis only represents a single facet of a complex array.

(Just as any of the above castings oversimplify.) This is not to suggest that all of the issues are found in each episode but rather that it is unlikely that any can ever be exclusive.

What in fact is meant by thee magical catch phrases?

> "In its ideal form, participation consists of sharing actual decisionmaking power among politicians, public administrators, and lay citizens in planning, programming, and administering policy" (Hershey, 1970).

Citizen participants in the above model would be representative of all. However, another model is more community based, implying some sort of geographic catchment creation, ordinarily a neighborhood or cluster of neighborhoods. The residents of the area are then represented.

Examples of community controls abound, most discussions have focused on the schools, some on neighborhood health centers, and some on the police (Waskow, 1969). Even these debates are unclear. Do the advocates merely mean to decentralize — to reduce the population base — or do they mean to limit "control" to consumers (users)? In the latter case, it could mean children attending school, or their parents, or those who are arrested, or possibly populations at risk. Do they intend to continue civil service or tenure or reserve all rights of appointment, promotion, discipline, transfer or dismissal? Do they set policy? Does the mayor or city council have veto power? In any case, however defined, the population control base would be reduced. To Waskow (1969, p. 4) "it would thus accept the traditions of rural counties and suburban towns..."

Everyone is a consumer but not necessarily of the same product. Even providers are consumers. The president of the utility company uses utilities. The physician needs medical care. We all need water, solid waste and sewage disposal, and the services of public utilities. Resources are finite; choices are made; often compromises are required. Comparison and analysis are functional. The utility of a product or service varies according to the nature of the its work (*Royal Bank of Canada Monthly Letter, 1976*).

None of the models imply any positive or negative loading on class, racial or ethnic grounds. It depends upon the service offered, its location, and its clientele. A public welfare program is clearly delimited to those below a certain income level. The taxes supporting the program are drawn from higher income levels. An urban Boys Club in a low-income Black neighborhood is usually limited by the age of its users to a one-mile geographic radius. Thus its users will generally reflect the immediate neighborhood, partly modified by the availability and location of public transportation. A large, complex, urban teaching hospital will undoubtedly serve its neighbors, especially in its outpatient clinics and emergency wards, but may also receive worldwide referrals depending on its reputation and specialized skills. Requiring consumer representation on a health planning council merely means that they should not derive their principal income from the health industry, for all people including providers, are health industry consumers. If it were also required to be representative of its geographic area then, depending on definitions, we could add such variables as sex, race, ethnicity, age, class, religion, etc. It is also clear that there are no effective means for populating boards and committees consistently and effectively from the lower-lower classes.

What then are the goals? Essentially they are the converse of needs. People are unhappy about their bureaucracies, and efforts are being made to accommodate this dissatisfaction. One method of reducing this problem is to involve them in policy and decisionmaking. Those feeling excluded want to live and feel like full and equal citizens. They want an opportunity to participate in their own destiny. Thus we have both process and product goals. They want participation at all levels and they want results. They want system reform.

Policy and advisory boards and committees are not new. Participation is not new. Representation is not new and elections are not new—nor is the use of conflict to modify power. The American organized labor movement successfully fought this same battle in the 1930's and has been overvigilant since. Woe be the public or private administrator who excludes organized labor from his volunteer committees, whatever their functions.

The value of this continuing participation by organized labor is clearly evident and no one would seriously challenge it now. Similarly, general purpose local government, State government and the Federal Government have long involved the citizenry, often on a specialized basis. The U.S. Department of Agriculture has included local farmers in its extension service planning for decades. The U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare has a similar tradition in the utilization of technically skilled people as advisors to its research and training grant programs. At the policy advisory level, committees extending back for more than a century can be found. Although the New England town meeting model is the ideal toward which many aim, these same small towns have always had many small standing and ad hoc advisory committees in addition to the traditionally elected bodies.

The voluntary human services field is exemplary in its utilization of citizen volunteers at many operating levels. Thus the issue is not whether to use or not use committees but rather with *how much power,* and *how* and *from whom they are to be selected.* The board and committee room is an important battleground; many decisions are or can be made there.

Problems

What then are the problems which can be anticipated? The classic area of controversy is that of influence or power. Hochbaum (1969) envisions each group—the consumers and professionals—as possessed of decisional territories.

Placed together there are two overlapping circles. One circle includes the issues which the consumers claim for themselves, the other contains the professional prerogatives. The overlapping area represents the potential conflicting turf. Ultimately the field of difference can be narrowed if the professional is willing to limit his prerogative to technical issues although even with this more explicit and limited role many difficulties are still possible. For example, is national health insurance a general social policy issue, or one requiring medical competence to make a judgment? Does a State Commissioner of Mental Health have to be a physician, the County Welfare Administrator a social worker? Who decides that which is technical and that which is not?

Another set of potential conflict revolves around wants, needs, demands, and equity. Obviously only the people themselves can determine their wants and demands, but who determines needs and equity? Norman Lourie (1967) casts the problem starkly — what if each neighborhood wanted to establish its own sewerage system? In my small town, such a decision was made much to the consternation of the regional system. Essentially these and other differences can be dealt with as political issues to be negotiated, or as technical-rational issues.

Carroll (1971) suggests a number of potential consequences resulting from these strategies. Politicalization can deteriorate into obstruction, wide spread veto and paralysis of public action. Contrariwise, the skilled administrator may manipulate the participants to generate the illusion of public activity and support to achieve ends which may be inimical to the greater good. One evident result of some of the power tactics of the 1960's was clear system overloading, creating serious organizational goal displacement. Also possible is the shifting of influence from one small group to another still leading to the tyranny of small decisions.

Participation by those with low income further compounds the problems. The poor have had few resources and few experiences with the subtleties of organized board decisionmaking processes. To function effectively at the policy level boards must be future oriented. But when income is seriously limited, survial today is the agenda. Chilman (1966) suggests that poverty reinforces a physical rather than verbal response; authoritarian rather than democratic interactive styles. Harry Specht (1966) adds additional barriers: self-defeating attitudes by the poor themselves reinforced by a negative community attitude toward them, organizational practices which discourage their participation, and the general reluctance of those in control to admit new participants.

O'Donnell and Chilman (1969) remind us that the critical task is to maintain participation over time and that support and positive reinforcement is necessary.

The method of selection is also of concern. Who are these people making policy and from whence do they come? I have already referred extensively in this section to the composition of boards and committees, using the not-for-profit general hospital as an analytic model. I concluded earlier that boards should be designed relative to their functions and that some sacrifice in technical competence may be justified by gains in broadened representation. But how representative and necessary is representation? Even at the New England open town meeting most people chose not to attend. Some attend but do not participate. The contemporary procedure available to truly and accurately reflect public opinion is the household survey by skilled survey researchers. Election is another model, but the rate of participation in OEO and Model City elections seldom exceeded 5 percent of those eligible. Further, the good government reformers and specialists in public administration have long advocated the elimination of the long ballot. Their argument is that the ballot should be as brief as possible to persuade people to attend to the significant issues. The longer the ballot the less discriminating and objective are the voters. They advocate fewer elected and more appointed officials — a model quite contrary to the maximum feasible participation ideology. Both are considered "white hat" reforms.

Other requirements contributing to meaningful representation as a goal are the simple requirements for all policymakers — they need certain kinds of analytic and verbal skills, and it is usually motivated people with these skills who become visible and active. A traditional research finding on boards and committees is that even those groups which have deliberately broadened their ethnic, racial, and social class base have coonsistently selected leaders from those peopel who are motivated and verbal. But leaders, by definition, are not representative. Yet what is wrong with natural leaders? Very likely, appointments, not elections, will remain the operating procedure to secure board members; most boards will move toward elaborating and extending their membership base, and those chosen will have already demonstrated certain leadership qualities.

Scientific Advisory Committees: An Example

Another example of participation is the widespread use of scientific advisory committees. For more than a generation, scientists have been visting Washington to advise the Federal Government on a variety of technical concerns, from solid waste control to cancer or even space travel. This scientific advisory system is well established. appears to work well on the whole, and represents a wholesale use of outside advisors. They operate in the White House, in most of the major executive agencies, especially HEW, in quasi-governmental agencies like the National Science Foundation, and even in Congress. Sometimes they sit on standing committees either review or council and sometimes on an ad hoc basis. About 1,500 committees with roughly 15,000 members were identified in 1972 (Walsh, 1972). (The last three Presidents pressed toward reducing this participation.)

In his analysis of the effectiveness of this participatory model, Perl (1971) found it effective on definable technical questions (much of its work) but ineffective on broad technical questions. Since most of the critical environmental questions are included in the latter category, Perl concludes that the scientific advisory system may be counterproductive since its continuing presence impedes the development of a more effective and comprehensive role for the scientific community in the technical decisionmaking process.

A later study by the National Research Council (Walsh, 1972) concluded that on balance the system is useful but that it has several shortcomings. They were critical of the use of committees to avoid executive decisions, the recruitment process, the relation between committees and advisory agencies and of the domination of the committees by white middle-aged males.

Carroll (1971) adds to the criticism, uring participatory tehcnology to countervail technological alientation. He suggests that many decisions delegated to technicians are political value choices and too important to be determined by scientists acting alone.

Who Speaks for the Community?

To whom then should locally elected officials, United Way officers, appointed executives look for guidance? Some residents vote in elections. A household survey is possible. Public and special interest groups are ready with their initiatives. Community "elites" are in the background. Several studies have been conducted to determine who speaks for the community. Typically, they compare the responses of a sample of residents with those of the community elites and they find a wide variation in responses. Concerns most frequently expressed by one group were those least voiced by the other groups of respondents. For example, in one study (Fiedler, Fiedler and Campf, 1971), 29 percent of the community leaders expressed concerns about the local political structure. Only 3.2 percent of the general community were equally concerned. In contrast, 14.1 percent of the random sample and 0.0 percent of the community leaders expressed concern about crime and vandalism. This communication gap between the citizens and their reputed leaders is not merely a function of information. When asked who speaks for them or to whom they would turn for a spokesman, less than one-third were able to be specific. Fiedler et al. (1971, p. 331) concluded that "two-thirds of the respondents in essence feel unrepresented." Thus, not only do the community leaders fail to understand the nature of the public's concerns, the same public does not view their governmental officials as their spokesman (only 6.3 percent named governmental officials). Forty-one percent, however, felt that governmental officials attempted to act in their behalf.

Of course, the elites may know better what is good for the public than the public does itself. Governmental officials may be representing them well and just not effectively communicating their efforts. But such differences are the essence of anomie and discontent.

SECTION II

CHANGE PROCESSES

PROJECT PLANNING/ MANAGEMENT

Project Planning/Management is increasingly used as a change tool both to solve problems and to improve management. Thus as a planning tool it is used extraorganizationally and as a management tool it is used intraorganizationally. Both uses will be discussed in this chapter.

Definition

Bergwall et al. (1974, p. 3) focus on intraorganizational project planning and describe it as the kind of activity that". . . deals with operational matters in a rather narrow scope, based upon problem solving techniques and striving for efficiency . . . Project planning . . . is predominant at the departmental level. . ." Unlike other forms of planning, it does not customarily require major interactions with the environment and other system components. It is used by public and private, profit and nonprofit organizations.

Examples of the use of intraorganizational planning/management are countless: (1) typical of late, is the internal restructuring of organizations; (2) reexamination of organization functions; (3) determining whether a WATS line or word processing equipment would be cost-productive; (4) moving to a program budget; (5) developing an accrual accounting system; (6) realigning secretarial assignments; (7) examining possible capital expenditures over the next several years and so on. It can be focused on bread and butter issues or it can be focused on issues of major organizational significance, but mostly it is done for yourself—for your own organization to improve its functioning.

Alternatively, project planning can be illustrated by reference to the federally supported statewide planning projects in mental health, retardation, and vocational rehabilitation in the 1960's. They were time limited and task oriented. Staff were either hired for the specific assignment or loaned part or full-time to the effort.

A contemporary classic example in project management was and is NASA (The National Aeronautics and Space Administration). From a position of relative inferiority to the Soviet Union, NASA brought the United States to world leadership during the 1960's. "Project management" was the magical means.

The National Academy of Public Administration, under contract to NASA, (Chapman, 1973) endeavored: (1) to identify those NASA project management procedures that were most important; (2) to clarify information helpful in the selection, attraction, and development of managers; and (3) to determine whether NASA project management procedures are transferable to other situations.

Perhaps most important the success of NASA's many projects was due ". . . to the concerted effort of the entire agency through teamwork and mutual support" (Chapman, 1973, p. 119). The superhuman management star system was not a critical variable. "The

driving force was the excitement of the particular task at hand, its importance and innovative nature" (Chapman, 1973, p. 119). Competent managers led committed teams. The focus was on successful completion of the project.

Planning and control were centralized, project management decentralized.

Why Use Project Planning/Management?

Resources are scarce, demands for service expanding, accountability is increasingly required, the environment is changing at an exponential rate, organizational boundaries are increasingly permeable, and the nice, neat, functional organization is increasingly challenged in respect to productivity, efficiency, and effectiveness. As such, the task-oriented, time-limited, decentralized team project system has been developed as another change method. The classical hierarchical "pine tree" form of management is eliminated or combined in a matrix form, described later.

If change is increasing at the exponential rate suggested earlier, and problems become increasingly complex, which seems likely, methods of planned social change will have to accommodate. Problems cut across organizational, local, State, and national boundaries.

Long-term planning, still an essential tool, will increasingly be complemented by short-term, project planning. Unique problems, constantly changing, will require specific, targeted, rapid problem solving methods. Problems can be a snare or an opportunity. The successful administrator will try to convert problems into opportunities by recognizing them and developing resources to their solution.

As with most of the planning methods described herein, project planning/management is old hat. Many, perhaps most of the world's successes have come about as a consequence of harnessing resources and energy toward a specific objective. What is new is the labeling, research on, and effort to systemize project planning/management.

When to Use Project/Planning Management

Chapman and his colleagues (1973) identified six major prerequisites for successful project management style activities. First, senior officials must be committed to focus on a time limited well-defined task. Also needed are: (2) strong support by top management of the project manager; (3) authority to cut across agency structure; (4) a simple and basic system to keep key actors informed; (5) a periodic review system at key points in the life cycle of the project; and (6) direct access by the project manager to senior officials.

Every organization has limited time available, thus a determination must be made of what is most needed. What will be most beneficial to the organization? What will it cost? Who will do it? Does the management approve? After these questions are addressed, then a rank order of importance to each proposed activity should be established.

Structural Components of Project management

The project-oriented mechanism requires a delineation of goals and objectives, target dates for the subcomponents, resources and specific activities necessary to achieve the subgoals, including time of specific named participants and extraordinary costs.

Equally essential is a recording and reporting system. How much was accomplished? What did it cost in hours and dollars? How does it compare with the plan? Why the differences? Have new problems or opportunities been identified?

This information must then be collated and distributed to all of the key actors on a routine basis. Jacobs (1976) suggests a checklist for developing intraorganizational priorities". . . mandatory project, reduction of operating costs, consumerism, job enrichment, competitive pressure, environmental improvement, improved quality, and better services. . . ." (p. 10).

An important issue is who should do the planning and how it should be done. At one end of the continuum, the chief executive officer may regard planning as something that

he must personally do. At the opposite, there may be an institutionalized planning unit that receives only general guidance from the chief executive.

It is important to note that under a tightly controlled planning process, the chief executive officer controls innovation. Ordinarily when more than one person is involved in the planning process the likelihood of innovation is improved.

It should be noted, regardless of which planning mechanism is adopted, the ultimate responsibility lies with the chief executive officer. This duty cannot be delegated as easily as other management functions. Ultimately the chief executive must be responsible and make sure that all plans are coordinated and integrated in a rational project planning effort.

If the particular problem toward which the project planning is directed is of high significance to the organization, the best people are brought together to staff this particular project. Functional lines of authority must be eliminated while working on the project. Jacobs (1976) outlines five essential roles for the project director: (1) finish on time; (2) complete within the budget; (3) insure that work was of adequate quality; (4) report periodically to others regarding the program; and (5) be responsible for the implementation of the findings of the project.

Within an organization the project director should be the eventual principal user of the product of the project team. As noted, the person could be the chief executive officer or another senior official. This person may spend only limited time on the project and have a full-time project manager reporting to him for the day-by-day operation of the project.

The team leader concept with the principal user being the project director works well in intraorganizational activities. When a project is being undertaken for another organization, the principle of intensive involvement of the principal user is still advisable although this person will probably not act as project director or manager.

Sometimes outsiders with particular competency or influence may also be asked to participate on project committees. Board members or significant people from other organizations may participate. The advantage of this method accrues when these people have some policy or implementing responsibility. They have the capacity to follow through. Again as with boards and most committees, staffing is essential if any extensive detail work is required. Project subcommittees and task forces are also possible. Another form of committee structure is to recruit entirely from outside the organization in order to stimulate a fresh independent view of the problem and its possible solutions. A staff planning committee offers yet another alternative.

All project committees have advantages and disadvantages. The sharing of opinions, the possibility of early problem identification and solution, the increased willingness to accept decisions of groups of which one is a member, are among the many reasons why a planning committee method may be chosen.

Of course, committees can be slow and demanding, and if time is crucial there may have to be some compromise. It is noted elsewhere in this volume that consensus via committees may result in a watered down result. In addition, it is hard to clearly delineate responsibility if a committee does the planning. (Of course shared responsibility may be the desired result; in that case a committee is ideal.)

As suggested above, individuals may be drawn into the process from outside the organization. Presumably they have special skills or influence which may contribute to the maximazation of planning results. A special subset of outsiders is the consultant. Consultants are often used in the human services. The consultant may do any of those activities described within this chapter. Usually they are hired for skills not found in the organization or for their neutral third-party status. They are an important potential manpower resource.

Profit Centers

Most successful management consulting firms make extensive use of the project model and often incorporate into it a profit center arrangement. Accomplishments and costs are

contrasted. (The budget center model compares actual costs against proposed costs.) Profit center means just that. The sale price (income) should exceed the cost of the project. For public and private not-for-profit organizations, the profit center may appear to be unnecessary, although costs must be measured and income related thereto. It may be a policy decision for the organization to subsidize, in part or fully, the project; but this decision can best be made against the history of continuing analysis of costs and results.

Matrix Organization

Readers interested in the use of the project as a method of achieving ends should note the development of two sets of related theories and practices; management information systems (Broskowski, et al, 1978) and matrix organizations. Both procedures support and enhance the use of the project model.

A matrix or mixed organizational model attempts to integrate the functional specialization and project model into a single organization.

Kingdon (1973) suggests that the matrix organizational design is probably essential to the survival of complex organizations, and perhaps even society itself.

The net result of the matrix organization is that most institutions will have many substructures. The functional organization will continue overall and a series of temporary project structures will evolve. Thus, an employee could be situated in the permanent functional structure and one or more of the projects. The simple hierarchy has been replaced by a monster according to some participants.

Problems with Project Management

Reeser (1969) who studied the human problems associated with the project oriented organization identified three significant problems for project personnel compared to people working in functional organizations. First, project personnel when the project is completed are more likely to be concerned about continuing employment; (2) they may manifest more frustration about make-work assignments; and, (3) they fear being set back in their careers.

These problems are especially accentuated when personnel are assigned to a major, relatively long-term project which separate staff from the ongoing responsibilities of the organization. In-house, short-term projects, consistent with the organization's goals and integrated with other activities, tend to produce much less anxiety.

Thus project management/planning is another useful tool, especially valuable for organizations with multiple functions or influx. It is complimentary with many of the other discussed change tools, especially those of a nonadverserial nature.

COALITIONS

• What are they? • How do they work? • When should coalitional planning be selected as a tactic? • When should it be rejected? • and how should it be used?

Definition

Our first problem is definitional. In *The American Heritage Dictionary* (1969, p. 255) a coalition is defined as "an alliance, especially a temporary one, of factions, parties, or nations." In a 1969 Symposium on Coalition Planning (p. 1-2)". . . The concept of coalition planning encompasses several sets of perspectives and various kinds of activity intended to influence community decisionmaking in the interest of human development and community well-being . . . The objective of coalition planning is to relate these different efforts to achieve common ends, utilizing an open process and a broad involvement of people and their leaders." Gamson (1961, p. 374) defines a coalition as "the joint use of resources by two or more social units." To Kessel (1968, p. 14), a coalition is "a set of groups" as contrasted to individuals and institutions. Wilbur Cohen views coalitions or alliances as short and ocassionally long-term agreements between organizations or groups working together in regard to common legislative objectives (1966). To Frey (1973, p. 11), "In operational terms, then, an organizational coalition is a combined or joint venture with other organizations in which each is committed to some form of joint decisionmaking but through a structure which is independent and autonomous, and does not report to a higher decisionmaking authority."

How They Work

Despite this range of theoretical options, coalitions do exist and some consensus can be identified. Coalitions are groupings of people. They form around an issue, concern, or problem. They are nonlegal, ad hoc, or temporary. (Thus, the Urban Coalition, a permanent organization, is a misnomer.) Pirgmore (1974) classifies them by dimensions of time and specificity—short v. long-term, multi-issues v. single issue. Ordinarily, the members represent formal organizations, although some people may be invited to participate precisely because they do not represent any organization, but because they are a consumer or citizen. Some potential alteration or manipulation of resources is implied by the coalition formalization. They can make their own decisions in respect to their own goals.

Coalitions are as old as organizations. At the point when two or more organizations find themselves with a common interest, it is often to their benefit to exchange and in this process to form a temporary alliance. Over time, they may form a new permanent organization; more customarily, they disband. Sometimes, if successful, they may modify their goals and in this case their membership may also change. They may fail because their goal is generally or specifically unachievable as a function of coalitional efforts or because of internal conflict. The members may have little interest beyond the immediate goal which brought them together or the current effort may be one of many over time. But remember, the participants typically are identified with other organizations toward which their principal loyalties lie, although some members finding the coalition personally satisfying may try to perpetuate it. The coalition represents a temporary problem solving arrangement because their own organization lacks the sanctions, resources, desire, and/or competence to deal effectively with the problem. If they could achieve their organizational ends without coalitions, they would do so. In joining a coalition they are temporarily giving up some organizational autonomy (Frey, 1973).

Utilization

Thus, coalitions represent an interorganizational effort to solve a problem. But not all problems lend themselves equally well to this change strategy. Frey (1973) posits a paradigm which contrasts cooperative or individualistic rationality against domain consensus. Organizations accustomed to working together cooperatively in ad hoc structures, who agree on the existence and nature of the problem, and are not threatened by its potential solutions, are ideally suited for coalition planning. Based on prior working experience a group of urban organizations — voluntary family and children's agencies, a public mental health center, a church with an outreach youth program, and a mutual aid agency — join together to plan programs and facilities for the customary summer onslaught of runaway youth. The problem is real and reoccurring. They are willing to assign staff to work on programs of high priority. No one group has the sanction or resources to deal with it fully. It will probably not be a continuing problem. Most of the agencies have a history of prior collaboration. Their organizational domains are not threatened. Given these circumstances, coalition planning is a reasonable and effective planning tactic. Contrast this with an effort to coalese the Black Panthers and an antibusing school committee. Both the Panthers and the elected school committee members receive their support because of their oppositional stance. Both are noted for the use of adversary tactics. Any change acceptable to one side would seriously alter the public image of the other and negatively affect their constituency relations. The choice of a coalition for these two would be inadvisable.* Frey (1973, p. 128), uses the following language: ". . . the disagreement (on domain) is supported by norms which favor individualism, separatism, and self-interest. Little value is placed on issues of coordination and integration. Consequently, each organization is likely to defend its own goals and its own domain. Cooperation is likely to occur only when each organization is able to expand its goals or domain."

Many, perhaps most opportunities fall between these two extremes. In planning, for a new community mental health program based upon a network, interorganizational model, the typical, involved agency serving the same community has had prior shared experiences. Further, they have been conditioned to work cooperatively, at least in public. The bulk of the new resources needed to begin and sustain this effort will be from State and local government. Some of them will ultimately be the beneficiaries of this largess. Their clients will be aided. Services will be more available. Continuity of care could be enhanced. Some, however, may not improve their organizational status from these new funds and the balance of power may shift, albeit slightly. Those least likely to gain are least likely to work unless it is necessary for self-protection. Yet, it is unlikely that any organization will directly suffer resource reduction. Thus, although there are clear problems ahead because the status quo will be affected, open conflict is unlikely and many disagreements can ultimately be minimized. In this case, the collaborative coalitional model has a reasonable chance of success given adequate staffing and time to resolve some of the wounds which may develop. Nevertheless, coalitions are very fragile structures.

How are they formed? They can be brokered, convened, or stimulated by a third party (Frey, 1973). The "trusted leader" (Stichcomb, 1969) reaches out to various organizations. His action implies that the problem is real and implementation by the coalition route is feasible. He may bring them together to examine, for example, the implications of general revenue sharing and to design ways to influence governmental decisionmaking regarding their priorities and expenditures. Or one organization may convene others. The socially isolated homeless man (the Skid Row alcoholic) appears to be an increasing community problem. The State hospital superintendent stimulates a coalition of other concerned agencies to develop more effective resources. The final model is when a third party, usually possessing some authority or influence, forms a coalition but does not personally

*The "new" Panthers might now be willing but the School Committee remains unchanged.

play an active role. Annoyed by the inability of the agencies to agree upon a site for the proposed new community mental health center, the mayor convenes the concerned group to work on the problem threatening to make a unilateral decision if they fail to agree.

Structurally, depending upon the size of the coalition, the complexity of the problem on which they are working, their previous working experiences, and current consensus, a number of working models are possible. A committee of the whole may be developed. A steering committee may be appointed. Small task forces may be designed. Staff may be assigned. The participants may act on their own as "individuals" or strongly represent the diverse interest of their respective organization (Frey, 1973).

In essence, a developmental pattern can be identified (Frey, 1973, pp. 45-46). "Initiation, feasibility, testing, agreement to proceed, formalization and consolidation, with the final stage being one in which the coalition either dissolved or became transformed into a new organizational structure." Depending on the clarity of the goal, means to achieve it and general consensus or dissensus the coalition may move quickly or slowly, effectively or ineffectively.

Thus, as with any change or planning strategy the coalition model has its advantages and disadvantages. Its choice should be based on analysis of its change potential compared to other alternatives.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

The art of community organization (CO) can probably be traced back to early man, but as an organized American intervention, it is approximately 100 years old. Although the clear cut beginnings of community organization can be traced to the reform movement at the beginning of the 20th century, occurring specifically as a function of settlement houses and charity organizations, the literature of the field did not become well established until the 1920s.* While some technological innovations have since been added, the general principles then enunciated still give community organization its force and substance. Its goals were and are to: (1) strengthen the community; (2) unleash hidden community resources; (3) help the community to see and act for itself as a community of the whole; (4) help people to act for themselves; (5) create an intelligent community; and (6) enhance individual responsibility. The underlying concern was about the loss of traditional community institutions. Principally focused on urban issues and neighborhoods, it can be inferred, though seldom explicitly stated, that rural values were/are superior. The goals can be seen as the personification of classical American values and virtues (Austin and Bell, 1977).

Its goals, content, form, and boudaries are somewhat unclear. Some describe community organization as one of the many tools available to planners. Other more traditional theorists suggest the reverse—planning is a subcomponent of community organization. Some even suggest that they are the same, call them what you may.

Definition

Thus, even though community organization is now well know, possessed of a certain mystique and status, it still lacks specificity even among its scholars. Both ends and means oriented, the community organizer is not terribly constrained by these debates or in fact by professional boundaries. Nor when practicing community organization is he using an intervention method sharply differentiated from other change tactics, herein discussed. Best known for its development in the field of social work, health educators, adult educators, public health consultants, county agricultural agents, and a variety of other disciplines use the term and practice its vague tenents without any particular discomfort. And finally, unless very broadly defined, it lacks capacity as a major policy catalyst.

Rothman (1964, p. 24), summarizes the goals of community organization under the headings of "social action goals, task goals, substantive or content goals, and social reform goals. Gurin (1971) noted that community organization purposes reflect a range of diverse interests, groups, organizations, professions, and movements and can vary in a number of dimensions. He classifies them principally as coordination, participation, and self-help.

Rothman (1968) cites three components of community organization: locality development, social action, and social planning. (Locality is otherwise defined as community development.) Cofocuses on citizen participation in problem identification and goal determination and its ideal is to help the entire community. In social action, the goal is to change our institutions by organizing the disadvantaged to impact on the larger community for a more equitable share of the resources. Social planning, to Rothman, is a rational, technical process of problem solving to deliver goals and services to those in need.

These debates need not concern the nonpurist reader. In this chapter, I will use the more traditional view — place the concept in a specific context, although as I have already noted and will continue to note, differences of opinions have always occurred. In

*A thoughful review of some of the early writings, 1920-1939, can be found in an essay by Austin and Bell, 1977.

any case however defined, this intervention assumes difficulties related to systems, not to individuals. The goal is to change the system — policies, priorities, programs and procedures — not the individual actos (Perlman, 1971).

History

Historically, the American practice of community organization had three principal founding streams: social work (probably the most important because of its publication proclivities and links to the upper-middle and lower-upper classes); agriculture; and adult education. The social reform movement of the late 19th and early 20th century contained the essential elements of contemporary community organization. "The early social workers/reformers organized people on a house-to-house basis, identified and studied the dimensions of social problems, devised policies and program proposals, formed pressure groups, and conducted various campaigns to achieve change objectives" (Gurin, 1971, p. 1326). Many of its practitioners still view it as a neighborhoold phenomenon, locally based and localy oriented.

The agricultural origin, related most specifically to community development, but including community organization, focused first on rural areas of underdeveloped countries, later adding to its focus American rural, and later urban areas.

Adult education deriving its philosophical base from John Dewey has also integrated theories of community organization in its methodological developments, especially the concept of participation.

As an organized human service intervention tool, community organization, beginning in the 1920's, was principally a tool used by social workers. It was primarily based in organizations variously known as Councils of Social Agencies, Welfare Councils, and United Community Services and continued through the 1950's. During the 1950's, another development occurred; community organization was added as a formal tool of direct human service agencies.

Tool of Direct Service Agencies

At its most basic level, community organization is an essential tool of all direct service organizations (Seder, 1962). By definition, the entire human service system is operating in an era of rapid social and technological change, surrounded by very permeable boundaries. Additionally, direct service organizations seldom possess the capacity, skills or sanction to deal comprehensively with the multiproblem individuals or families who constitute the bulk of their consumers. Thus, if they are to effectively serve their clients, they need: the cooperation and assistance of other organizations; additional resources (money); clients, especially "good, well motivated" clients; and continued positive sanctions. The typical operating agency thus needs clients, sanctions, and resources for themselves and the cooperation of collateral agencies for their clients. For them, CO is a logical practice as would be advocacy, lobbying, coordination, and many other tools described elsewhere in this volume.

For community organization to be an effective tool for an operating agency, it needs effective role clarification; sanctioned, legitimized, and organized by the agency. They must believe in the function. A typical home health, community school or family counseling agency constantly identifies unmet service needs among its clients. Referral to an appropriate agency is needed. The function of the community organizer in such a situation is to do the necessary ground work so that the agency to whom the client is referred will accept the referral and offer appropriate and effective services. The facilitating process may be a simple or complicated one. Obstacles may exist, or perhaps the service does not exist, is in short supply, or is bounded by restrictions making your client ineligible. Whatever the problem (if there is one), it needs to be identified and then a judgment has to be made as to whether it is a unique behavior response of one or more staff members or is a systemic-policy issue. If a recalcitrant or unknowing employee is responsible, a number of alternative strategies exist to persuade or educate him. It may

be that anachronistic rules, regulations or laws need adjustment. Perhaps, your client is legitimately and appropriately refused assistance by others, and you find that the necessary service just does not exist. The direct service agency may want to use its community organization skills on the idiosyncratic problem, share with others by forming a coalition, or refer the problem to other organizations charged with a more general planning and advocacy role. For almost every choice, collecting additional information and especially determining the degree to which your client's problem(s) is/are rare, common, important or unimportant is a necessary action. Has the bureaucracy been harmful to others? Can the State Medicaid regulations be adjusted without changes in the statute? Is the mental health center discriminating against your type of client contrary to the rules and regulations — he is too old, sick or obstreperous in their view?

Develop your case. Thus, interorganizational work is natural and logically inspired. It may help your agency's deserving clients. To advocate on behalf of your own deserving clients places the direct service organization in a powerful, compelling and legitimate position. It does not appear to be self-serving.

But there are other logical and natural roles, as already indicated. Policy initiatives may be necessary. However accomplished, stimulus from a direct service agency on behalf of its deserving unserved clients can enhance the initiative. The press will promote the cases if they are sympathetic and colorful. It may mean supporting an increased allocation for the budget of the Welfare Department.

Agencies are located on turf. They have a site located in a community and in most situations they are charged (or charge themselves) with serving that community. Clients, geographically based neighborhood leaders, parents, etc., are a natural constituency of the direct service agency. Developing and working with a natural constituency may well enhance the organization, help make it more responsive, more effective, and possibly protect it from more militant protagonists.

In addition to the classical advisory body or board of directors, many agencies have formed client groups who serve to help and support each other, who help to stimulate the agency to renew itself, and can serve as a legitimate ally in adversary relationships.

And there are always allocating, coordinating, and planning groups who may make decisions or recommendations affecting the operating agency. At the least, representation on or to those bodies may protect the self-interests of your organization. At best, it may help to promote more effective solutions to community problems.

Again, the operating agency is uniquely situated. It can be the communities early warning system in its area of competence if it collects and analyzes data based on the experiences of its clients. If the data is compared to that collected in previous years to determine trends, you are legitimately situated to promote your cause. Ideally, to be maximally effective, your clients and their problems should be the kind which allow for ready identification, are not controversial, do not cost any additional expenditures of money, and do not negatively impact on any existing institution. In that case you merely have to communicate your findings. Failing these desired but seldom found advantages, community organization is advisable. Remember that messengers have often been blamed for the message. *Begin with rationality, but be prepared to use power, influence, politics, and exchange.* Since you are the one who originally identified the problem, you have the advantage. The problem is real, you control the timing; thus, you have the advantage if you thoroughly prepare your case and your campaign.

Whatever the auspice, in playing a role which might logically lead to a social change effort, the community organizer seldom enters the arean representing the community "power brokers" (often a mythical group). He may be the Mayor's brother-in-law but woe be he if he alienates major blocks of voters. The community council worker may have a strongly supportive Board until the logical option is to recommend increased taxes. The United Way may delight in demonstrating their perceived power by cutting agency budgets but not when the agency bites back. Unloved, the community organizer is likely to be more successful in a pluralisitic setting than in one with a working, operational, unilateral influence structure.

How To Do It

Almost by definition, the community organizer represents those who are "out" of the system, in part or whoe, and thus, must seek out allies among the various factions. When this requires impacting on the local political sector, do not despair. It is noteworthy that American locally elected and appointed officials seldom represent the power structure. In fact, the proliferation of special interests and civil groups probably have much more potential clout and influence, if they can be brought to bear. A typical finding is that of Rossei (1960, p. 10): "significant community enterprises are often initiated outside the framework of local government, aided and abetted by a proliferation of civic associates and civic committees." The practical significance of these findings is that an effective mobilizing effort does have a change (especially where a vacuum occurs but even in conflicting situations). Ideally, the solutions of the issue should benefit all or at least not hurt any major group. The courtship effort is critical. Consensus and agreement should have long preceeded the demand. Demands are used either when everything else has failed or when you are very sure of your power (and wish to retaliate or exercise it).

The community organizer sgould be reminded that all is not hopeless. Groups need popular causes in order to remain viable. Elected officials and senior bureaucrats need at least one major piece of "white hat" legislation annually to reinforce their good government image.

And what businessman likes to be seen as anticitizen?. The public utility executive who raises rates by 25 percent in one year will double his United Way activities. This is his time of maximum vulnerability. Solicit his help. He wants to be loved.

On the other hand, the status-oriented businessman is going to look carefully at proposals likely to fail or whose controversial focus might alienate those peers whose support he seeks for other purposes. The businessman whose general attitude toward politics and politicians is negative will limit his occupational venture into "dirty politics" for those matters which will likely have a major effect on his business (e.g., utility and insurance company executives are not politically timid when their rates can be negatively affected).

Rossi (1960) reminds the community organizer that his job is to be creative and to persuade the citizens to be supportive.

Popularity

Given the tenuousness and complexity of its environment, it is not surprising that community organizing has had its dips in popularity. But occasionally some positive signs can also be noted. Several major developments in the 1960's accounted for a substantial escalation in its growth and popularity.

Stimulated first by the Ford Foundation's "Gray Area" activities and then followed in rapid succession by the Office of Juvenile Delinquency, the Office of Economic Opportunity, Model Cities, Regional Medical Programs and Comprehensive Health Planning, a series of top-down Federal policy decisions stimulated and supported a range of activities all of which included *community organization* and community organizers in their armamentarium. Starting somewhat earlier but also peaking in the 1960's was the civil rights movement which made widespread use of community organization methods. And finally, physicial and urban planners discovering people, began to integrate theories of community organization into their working methods. These many successes have not been without certain losses. The developments listed above coincided with certain other events; civil discontent, disorder, and militancy. Some even blamed grass roots organizing as precipitous of many events considered untoward. The next result now is a reversal in the growth pattern.

Results

As noted earlier, the community action programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) stimulated a renewed interest in community organization. Judgement about the

impact of the Community Action Program (CAP) varied by observer (Moynihan despaired (1969)); Rossi (1969) was more encouraging. Contract evaluation studies on behalf of OEO concluded that community action agencies "that adopt the mobilization and organization role are clearly more effective in bringing about institutional change than those that emphasize a service role" (Vaneko and Jacobs, 1970, p. 1). It was also determined that CAP programs also affected services to the poor in those private social service agencies which were also increasing their interaction with the poor independent of their source of financial support (Orden, 1973).

In a sense, the data suggests that: (1) an agency focusing primarily or exclusively on direct services is not likely to have much of a general impact on our social institutions (of course they may help their clients); (2) an agency focusing on institutional change using techniques of mobilization and community organization can influence our institutions; and (3) the social change focus may influence some already inclined service agencies to give more services to low-income people (especially when the poor are allowed to participate in the affairs of the agency).

In fact, community organization has within it both social reform and social control tendencies and as implied earlier contains certain significant limits in its potential influence. Certainly, the coordination function although highly valued and necessary is hardly designed to be revolutionary. Coordination, by definition, is directed toward organized collectivities — agencies — and is designed to relate them more closely together to the benefit of the client, principally improving referral, exchange and continuity of care. It can only do this by bringing significant providers in relation to each other. And since providers are seldom inclined to seriously challenge their own values, boundaries will be observed and turf protected. Another feature of community organization has to do with grass roots organizing — working at the local level. Two alternative goals are at work here. One is to help people to solve their problems (Newsletter, 1947). The other goal is educational and integrative — to help people to work better together (Ross, 1967). Since very few major problems are based on the neighborhood or even large city level (jobs, housing, education, air pollution, solid waste disposal, etc.), a process based on the neighborhood enabler model, even though ideologically clear, is severely constrainted. It is of principal value when it concentrates on local problems.

Means/Ends Dichotomy

The model which has process as both its means and end is even more limited as a reform procedure. Of course, some scholars of community organization take an opposite view. Shaffer (1972) whose articulated goal is to make major changes in society for the "oppressed" is one. He would press for more grass roots organizing rather than social planning which he views as a "technocratic process." This change which he deplores is to him ". . . less reflective of changes in 'social need' and more reflective of 'market realities' "(p. 69). One suspects that this view is generally more rhetoric than real as a method to deal with current issues. Over a long period of time, it may have more meaning.

Roles

The means used to achieve these needs are essential to community organization as a concept. Community organization is seen as both a process and a field. As noted earlier, agreement is easier to achieve on general goals; some community organizers are singularly dedicated to the enhancement of democratic values. Although others would share their value dedication, they believe it can best be achieved by effectively working together in specific problem solving. This author supports the latter view. People work best together when reinforcement occurs. The more effective reinforcement is when shared problems are solved or altered by collective action. Thus, an effective beginning is problem identification. When people hurt and understand that they share the hurt, believe

that improvement is possible, and are willing to work toward that end an opportunity exists. Problem identification and diagnosis are logical beginnings. Understanding community needs is essential. Next narrow the problem down, sharpen and hone it. Look for a concern where a successful outcome is probable at best, or possible at worst. (This is especially true when a group is in their early stages of development.) Through all of these early processes, establish and enhance relationships. Strive for an early success. Collect hard data and heart-rendering case histories. You have few advantages, do not feel guilty about using them. Look for options, alternatives, and compromises. Look for ways and means that bring people together. Make sure that the enemies are outside the group. Broaden the base of participation. Stimulate participation. Secure support. Remember, the goal is to enhance the commonweal, thus, continue to focus on participatory democratic decisionmaking.

Other roles for the community organizer are to enhance, enable, facilitate, bridge, support, aid, share, coordinate, delegate, and work behind the scene. Indirect leadership is fostered.

Classically, the community organizer has been an enabler — he helps people to define and resolve problems. The expertise of community organization has typically not been that of substantive knowledge of given fields but rather that of skills in working with people in groups. There are all sorts of exceptions as noted earlier, but the enabling role has continued as the critical one. Next I would underline the consensual seeking function with a heavy emphasis on participation. The enabled group is urged to develop a consensus both as to the nature of the problem facing them and the means to resolve it (which could be conflicting with other groups).

The focus on process in community organization, grew and developed as the concepts of dynamic psychoanalytic thinking permeated American psychiatry, social casework, and group work; and it has been influenced by these same concepts. Processes such as interpersonal relationships, insight, working through problems, and helping people to help themselves, cut across all these disciplines.

As one of many available intervention tools community organization is highly valuable. When it becomes and end in itself as sometimes encouraged by some of its advocates, it can be counterproductive. For example, the early American social reformers and many current advocates give special attention to community organization as a tool highly relevant to low-income and minority groups. Despite its nearly century long acceptance, there is limited data to support this position. In fact, its intragroup-collective problem-solving component is uniquely designed for the middle and upper class who have practiced it for many years without professional staff support. And this may account for its very popularity. Community organization practitioners, themselves middle class, necessarily want to translate successful middle class problem-solving techniques to those deprived of middle class standards, goals, and aspirations.

Insofar as its potential influence on policy, I have already implied that I do not see community organization as a powerful instrument. Rothman (1964, p. 24) speaks about the value of community organization as especially relevant in the "typically middle range" areas but excluding the "broader political area." I would agree. The principal policy value of community organization is its potential effect on those organizations which are more closely related, as it influences either their bylaws or current practices. In both cases, it is most effective in influencing choices available within a current charter or statute.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

I have already suggested the complimentary situation enjoyed by community organization and community development. The former, as organized and developed, was principally directed toward urban American, low-income populations. Community development, in contrast, was initially seen as a method used to upgrade areas and people in rural underdeveloped countries. The former was a social work development, the latter came from agriculture. In recent years, they have overlapped in target populations and networks.

Definitions

An almost classic description of community development was published by Irwin Sanders (1958, p. 1) in the journal *Rural Sociology*. He defined community development thusly:

> "first, as a *process*, with a focus upon sequence of interactions; second, as a *method*, as a means to an end; third, as a *program*, consisting of content as well as procedures; fourth, as a *movement*, involving personal commitment and an emotional dynamic."

The United Nations (1955, p. 6) defined community development as:

> "a process designed to create conditions of economic and social progress for the whole community with its active participation and the fullest possible reliance upon the community initiative."

Later in that same document the United Nations Committee highlighted a series of components: (1) community development should be focused on felt needs; (1) multi-functioning integrated programs should be designed; (3) attitude changes are critical; (4) citizen participation and improved local government are goals; (5) local leadership is required; (6) women and youth should participate; (7) the government should aid in community self-help projects; (8) national community development programs are also necessary; (9) voluntary associations should be full participants; and (10) local progress requires parallel national scale developments.

As with community organization, community development has a mixed and unclear development. It is a process and a method. It is a progam and a social movement. it can be all things to all people. It depends on the practitioner. Sanders (1958) therefore urges that these problems be viewed sociologically using theories of social control, social change, political sociology, social organization, communications and occupational socioloty. If writing now, he would undoubtably add more sociological specializations. Failing in some clarity here, let us move to its locus.

Where Is It Practical? Who Are the Targets?

As noted earlier, community development has been principally a locally based rural operation. Most of the 3,000 United States counties have county extension agents. Perhaps more than half of the world's nations have formal programs which follow the United Nation's definition (Khinduka, 1970). Recent American, more urban-oriented legitimate examples using community development, were the series of Federal program in the early and mid-1960's; the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Crime, Title I of the Higher Education Act, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Community Mental Health Act, the Partnership for Health Act, the Economic Opportunity Act, and the Model Cities Act (Spiegel).

Khinduka (1971), describes as rural targets such areas as agriculture, cottage industries, education, employment, health, irrigation, sanitation, training of village leaders, and women's and youth programs. In urban areas, community development would focus on business corporations, consumer cooperatives, correctional programs, home

management, housing, recreation, remedial education, social services, slum clearance, vocational training, and employment.

Examples

Some examples have been cited above. More will be noted here. Many American mid-western State universities provide consultation and advice to their communities in the form of technical information, basic planning information, community self-studies, and help in developing community councils. Similarly, the Federal Bureau of Indian Affairs has long operated a rural development and more recently an adult education program. Dunham (1960) describes other approaches: mass education on how to live in Ghana: community schools in the Philippines; rural development societies in Ceylon; collectives in Israel; rural welfare centers in Egypt; and a land distribution program in Mexico. Sanders (1958) is even more specific: the inoculation of all hogs, teaching women to use pressure cookers and to do home canning; and the enrollment of family heads in credit cooperatives.

Clearly the activity may be specified as concrete or general and nonspecific. It may be directed toward improving the immediate life of its constituency or an investment in long-term major social change.

Sponsors

I have already noted that the United Nations is engaged in community development analysis. Khinduka (1970) describes the United Nations and its agencies as perhaps.". . . the single most powerful influence in disseminating the idea of community development internationally" (p. 1347). As such, they have published a series of position papers and studies and have consulted worldwide.

Similarly, the United States through a variety of Federal mechanisms, most recently the Peace Corps, has actively supported and stimulated activities in many underdeveloped countries. Similarly, many national governments (India is one) have sponsored their own intranational community development programs. And finally, many voluntary nonprofit organizations (churches, trade unions, neighborhood associations, civil rights organizations, community councils, foundations, consumer groups and others) have sponsored programs, sometimes within their own nation and sometimes in other nations (Khinduka, 1970).

The Community Developer

Who does it? Sanders (1958) describes three types of functionaries: (1) local leaders, self-appointed or otherwise, who are the principal agents; (2) a second category would be the local resident professional who usually enters the community to achieve a single purpose—promoting flu shots or fluridation, for example; and (3) the multipurpose community development worker (the generalist) who is process rather than task oriented. He may be invited or sent in and usually sees his task as assisting the community in developing their own problem-solving strengths and own leadership.

Technical training for this range of skills and substantive areas is clearly not under the aegis of any one description or field. Thus, some practitioners may come from schools of agriculture, others from public health, economics, social work, or adult education. This range of academic professions, sponsors, and tasks helps to explain why both a descriptive and theorectical base are, as yet, vague and nonspecific.

Results

Depending on the goals, as with all activities, the results may or may not be easily measurable. If the target is literacy, or wells, or sanitation, or new programs, or facilities then a simple before and after measure is applicable. Contrariwise, if the objective is to

enhance relationships, promote leadership skills and problem-solving competencies, the timespan necessary to determine change may make it unlikely that any accurate measurement techniques are applied. Thus, as with many of the change tactics discussed in this monograph, a certain amount of faith is required.

Problems

The problems fall under a number of subheadings; methodological, substantive, and sponsorship. Dunham (1960, p. 183) cities:

> ". . . the necessity of understanding the cultural pattern. . . the problem of changing basic attitudes. . . arousing both the will to do and confidence that it can be done; the problem of engendering and maintaining the spirit of self-help and self-reliance. . . the discovery and development of adequate progressive leadership. . . the basic dilemna of 'felt needs' versus 'agency targets' or national goals. . . and the problem of moving fast enough and wisely enough to meet the rising tide of expectation."

In 1963, a group of experts drawn together by the Secretary-General of the United Nations underlined the 'felt need' issue identified by Dunham but they warned against the opposite danger. The rigid adherence to local 'felt needs' might help to temporarily alleviate some immediate problems and simultaneously discourage long-range solutions. Khinduka (1970) suggested other problems: the translation from rhetoric to reality; political manipulations; graft; heightened social cleavages; control by outsiders; administrative and organizational bottlenecks; and a rigid bureaucracy and civil service are some.

The balance of goal and process orientation creates its own set of difficulties already discussed in this chapter.

And lastly, what is the relation between a national goal and local level community development? How many significant problems can be resolved locally? Can locally based community development be planned nationally?

Thus, we return to issues of centralization and decentralization, specialization and generalization, process and task, control and democracy, efficiency and local control, and rationality and nonrationality.

Trends

It would seem evident that community development, whatever it is, has found an international base; and despite its current disfavor in the United States for use in our country, it will be a developing means of problem solving. Its translation to urban as well as rural issues is also clearly evident. National planning, particularly in economics, agriculture, education, and health will also affect the face and type of community development practiced around the world.

Conclusion

Not particularly oriented to any specific human service, in fact originating principally from agriculture, community development has proved itself to be a useful human services tool. Recalling its historical origin, economic and agricultural development, adult education and community organization, it is clear that better fed, housed, educated people, living in more stable communities, will be more comfortable. Thus, as a side effect of other efforts, better health is a likely major result.

As a specific tool directed to altering policy, community development, as community organization, is not a cost effective method. Its principal locus is directed to the rural or urban poor at the neighborhood or community level. But major policy decisions are made at strata far removed from that scene. As a means of affecting the policy and programmatic decisions of selected, local-based, federated type, human service institutions, more success is likely, but even this is strongly dependent on how much they are masters of their own fates. Today, few could make that claim.

A POTPOURRI OF CHANGE METHODS: CONSENSUS, PROCESS, COLLABORATION, ENABLING, BROKERING, CONFERENCES, CO-OPTATION, AND CAMPAIGN

Consensus

In consensus the procedure is to first achieve agreement, usually on overall goals, and then later, on means to achieve the overall goals. To achieve consensus ideological disagreements, obstacles and barriers, and other complicating factors must be identified and resolved. Certainly, if values differ, an effort to first obtain superordinate agreement is essential, or future consensual cooperation will prove impossible. Essentially, the consensual method requires the conscious seeking of agreements before systematically focusing on the resolution of disagreements.

The advantages of achieving consensus are obvious. Agreement can bring about a unity of purpose and contribute to a greater likelihood of achievement. The disadvantages of consensus are that its achievement may require goal reduction in the trade-offs necessary to bring it about.

For public or private not-for-profit organizations it is usually incumbent on the significant actors and organizations to seek to secure a consensus before they engage in any dissensual arrangements. The pressure is to join and share together before sanctioned competitive arrangements are acceptable. Certain arenas, for example, federations of organizations who share fundamental interests, almost always require consensual goals and tactics. In contrast other arenas, for example, the court system, theoretically sanction advocacy procedures. In fact, over 90 percent of American court cases are settled by plea bargaining, that is, consensual agreement, before reaching the ajudicatory, formal advocacy procedures of the organized courtroom. Thus, even in a setting which integrates and sanctions the use of advocacy methods to seek the truth, it is more likely to use negotiation to seek consensus.

In the matter of impacting on major policies in the public sector, it is clear that most decisions are incremental and based upon consensual agreement. In the private, profit-making sector consensus between like organizations with like products is discouraged in order to retain as much competition as possible and to discourage monopolistic or oligopolistic arrangements or price-fixing. In the nonprofit, voluntary sector, collaboration and consensus are encouraged although there are enough alternative organizations with unlike concerns to allow for considerable flexibility.

Process

In process, the goal is to develop working skills to enhance the capacity of individuals and groups to share common experiences toward the end of building problem solving skills and relationships. The immediate goal is to strengthen the process skills. Consensus building among group members is usually another objective.

Critical in the process orientation is the matter of freedom of choice. The process planner does not bring to bear his own opinions, ideology, or beliefs but rather attempts to help the group to determine its own goals, values, and choices.

The principle of and belief in mutual aid and self-help underlie much of the theory of process. In part, however, these are mixed messages. One underlying premise is based upon the classical *laissez-faire* theory as in Horatio Alger. It says build your personal

competencies and solve your own problems. The other message is that you should join, work, and learn with others, and as a consequence you will achieve the necessary power and skills to secure your group's share of the resources. Some groups combine both ideologies. The highly successful self-help phenomenon known as Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) is substantially dependent upon the principle that people help themselves by helping others and that in helping others they help themselves. Also essential to the sucess of this form of intervention is the belief that, at least early in the recovery phase of its members, only AA can be successful. Help from other individuals or organizations is considered to be disfunctional. Thus, this very effective self-help group is based upon certain fundamental principles which include opposition to alternative forms of intervention and a Spartan belief that only one alcoholic can help another and that this can occur only through the fellowship of Alcoholics Anonymous. Its strength is its process orientation.

As a way to bring about significant social change, process strategy is severely handicapped. It requires extensive time and effort. If, however, one views most major decisions as incremental and recurring, process as an educative, character-building and small problem-solving tool, may, over time, be highly significant for many groups still outside the mainstream of American life. It is unlikely that this middle class phenomenon designed by middle class social workers for lower class people would be as necessary for the middle and upper classes, because by definition, it is one of the methods of identifying and solving problems which they have successfully mastered.

Collaboration

Perlman and Gurin (1972, p. 133) define collaboration as "... based on the assumptions of consensus or a common base of values and interests. Agreement on specific proposals can be obtained by overcoming poor communication, misinformation, or inaction." Clearly, many groups collaborate on many common and uncommon issues. Thus, it is clear that as an operating procedure, collaboration in a democratic pluralistic society is both inevitable and absolutely essential if this complex society is to function effectively. An issue is how to achieve collaboration and what can best be accomplished by it.

As in the case of consensus and process and most of the other tactics discussed in this chapter, it is cear that collaboration occurs most frequently and effectively when it is to the mutual benefit of the organizations or individuals participating or when if not specifically beneficial, potential loss could possibly occur to one or more of the collaborators if they did not join together. Collarboration seldom occurs without some concerned actor identifying the potential self or community interest and bringing such information to the collaborating individuals or organizations. Thus it requires a reaching out to process.

Ordinarily, collaboration is most successful when directed toward a specific goal. Hence, it is usually thought to be time limited. Organizations may, however, relate to each other in a more long-term sense, moving toward goals considered to be of sufficient import to stimulate collaboration. Although not necessarily contractual, there is some sense of formality about the process which separates it from intermittent communication between organizations.

As a base from which to influence policy, the collaborative process is often used in the legislative and executive branches of the various levels of government. Public administrators speak often of their constituencies, their allies interested in their categorical programs, who can hopefully impact on their executive branch superiors and the legislature. Ideally, from the point of view of the public administrator, more than one constituent group would be supportive, concerned, and interested in his program and would join together or collaborate as necessary and appropriate. Thus, collaboration is a useful and essential tool in our complex interorganizational, multiorganizational network arrangement of service providers and consumers.

Enabling

Similar to the catalyst, the enabler stimulates ". . .awakens and focuses discontent, facilitates its expression, and translates it into aspirations and needs. The enabler also helps people to be realistic about problems and their resolutions, the time required, and the obstacles to be anticipated. He sustains morale during the long process of organizing" (Perlman and Gurin, 1972, p. 40). The enabler is concerned with others, their services, programs, and needs. To be effective, it is critical that he not be perceived as someone who wants to operate the program or who necessarily intends to continue the relation. The enabler may have specific program goals in mind or alternatively concern himself with developing the problem-solving competencies of the group. Clearly, the enabler must have a personality and style which is sufficiently compatible with the enabled group in order to be acceptable to them. And he must have substantial skill in developing relationships. Thus, the implication is that the enabler is an outsider, although it is possible that the enabler like the catalyst, could develop from within the organization or community.

It is absolutely essential that the enabler be clear about both the goals of the enabled group and the enabling process. Ordinarily, if the group is to continue, it must achieve some early successes. The group may already have goals well established prior to the arrival of the enabler. If this is the case, the enabler at least in part has the responsibility to examine the potential feasibility of the goals and to help sharpen and limit them. If the group does not have specific goals in mind, the task of the enabler is to help them identify and develop such goals again within the realm of practicability, unless the desired objective is to create more impatience and more frustration in the group. In the latter situation the superordinate objective may be to break up the group or to generate a smaller, more militant group.

Enabling is a limited although necessary means. Any group which requires intensive consultation and advice probably has limited resources to bring upon the policymakers. Thus in policy terms, at best it is a developmental strategy building toward long-range influence. Over time it can be an important and significant policy influencing procedure.

Brokerage

Individually or collectively the broker acts between individuals and/or groups and the needed sanctions and resources. The broker who serves to link the individuals or groups needing assistance requires substantive and organizational competence. As a change means, it can be indirectly significant and an important tactic. For example, since the major national health insurance proposals from the late 1960's and early 1970's did not include coverage for mental illness, alcoholism, and drug dependence, brokers for organizations and groups interested in including these problem areas actively brought this to the attention of the people drafting various insurance proposals. For the most part this brokerage has been successful. Later drafts have included some coverage for mental illness even though not as extensive and inclusive as the advocates might have wished or desired. To a lesser degree drafts have now also begun to cover alcoholism and drug dependency.

Traditionally, however, the classical view of the brokerage function is that it is a means of securing specific services or resources for individuals or groups on a much smaller scale than at the marco level. In some respects it personifies the classical function of the oldtime local political organizations.

Conferences, Workshops, Institutes, Forums and Informal Education

We do not know how much Americans spend annually on professional conferences, workshops, forums, institutes and informal education but it is likely in the many billions of dollars. Not only are there substantial direct costs but the dollar value of the participants' time must also be significant. Cities develop multimillion dollar conference centers and

vie competitively with each other to host these conferences. Many organizations, public and private, operate conference centers and is there an organization without at least one room set aside for meetings and staff conferences? Clearly all of this meeting going must relate to needs and serve a purpose; yet quite curiously enough, we have no hard data to describe its varying effects. Where data is available as in continuing education, there is little evidence of permanent behavior change, but our faith is strong. It depends on your goals.*

Compared to other methods of social change the conference lacks substance. But it exists. Many people spend much time in such pursuits. Its purposes are many:

- New ideas and practices may be disseminated.
- An exchange about existing programs, practices, procedures, theories, and policies is possible.
- It may allow for the sharpening of identities.
- Problem solving is possible.
- Moral may be sustained.
- Technical knowledge may be exchanged and transmitted.
- The group may develop a coherence.
- Coalitions may be formed.
- Social action can be enhanced.
- Documents (reports and publications) may be produced and disseminated.
- The time between research findings and implementation may be reduced.
- It encourages the writing of formal papers.
- It can help to identify issues, clarify problems, and offer alternative solutions.
- It permits the reestablishment of old friendships and the making of new ones.
- It provides a job exchange and placement mechanism, sometimes formally, sometimes informally.
- It allows for visiting of new places or familiarizing yourself with old places.
- It enhances informal communication and an exchange of anecdotal material and personal experiences.
- It serves as a facilitating arrangement and procedure.

It is said that conferences are activities, where one talks too much, drinks too much, eats too much, smokes too much, and sleeps too little.

For the conference organizers, conferences provide a problem-solving, work-sharing experience. And for the formal paper giver, the lecture or presentation usually requires

*For additional discussions see Belasco and Trice, 1966; Carter, 1967; Hoffer, 1967; and Schein, 1970.

some thought, deliberation, and organization on paper. For these few, at least, conferences have significant self-education potential.

With so many possible goals it is understandable why we have no measures of success or failure. In fact, one participant's success may be another's failure.

Alternatively, "if you can't beat them, join them." The marvel of the conference is that it permits many, even incompatible, goals. Thus, go and promote your message.

For the forum-institute-workshop-conference organizer some help can be offered. People, even audiences, are different and learn differently. Thus alternative communication mechanisms are recommended: formal presentation of papers; prior mailing of papers allowing for informal discussion at the conference; group discussion; workshops; problem-solving groups; case presentations; role playing; simulation; audiovisual aids; consultation; and printed material are some of the more commonly used methods of communication.

Also there is increasing use, even in large forums, of large specialized groups meeting together over time. As with any complex organizational arrangement, the objective of the program must be specified and an orderly means developed to best meet the objective within the parameters of the chosen arrangement. Decisions must be made about: generic vs. specialized content; formal vs. informal sessions; vocational information vs. value-humanitarian; single descriptions vs. multidescriptions; professionals, citizen or mixed; and attitude and behavior change or increased knowledge and understanding. The program, as for all intervention methods, must relate to the clients' needs, competence, experience, capacity, identity, values, and aspirations. In addition, the organizers need relevant and quick feedback, formal and informal, for they very likely will be similarly involved many times in the future.

Co-optation

Co-optation is associated with the type of structure in which representatives of a minority's view of interest are included within an organizational framework domianted by others and thus render legitimacy to the latter's purposes. "...'Tokenism' would be the more popular term for a structure making for co-optation of less influential groups" (Perlman and Gurin, 1972, p. 69). It implies that those co-opted are never truly incorporated into the larger economic and political structures. There is a certain invidious quality associated with the word co-optation, implying the exploitation of a subordinate group or individual. From the point of view of the observer, this rendering of influence may be clear. From the point of view of the involved actors or organizations, the situation may be much less clear. Often the question is "who is co-opting whom?" The organization may decide that it needs representatives of minority or low-income groups and seeks out those who are "leaders" in those communities of interest who hopefully will be supportive of the organization's superordinate goals. From the point of view of the solicited minority person, this may be an opportunity long sought for he will be able to operate within the interstices of the organization rather than from outside. The potential losses in being co-opted may be worth the risk.

Richards and Goudy (1977) in their studies of citizen participation in the Des Moines Model City and Community Development Programs concluded that the citizens wanted to be made part of the system, "to be more efficiently integrated into the system, whatever it was" (p. 68). The brainwashing implied by co-optation always assumes that the person being brought in will not be able effectively to negotiate or exchange in the competition for influence. Certainly, the data is not available to suggest that the winners and losers can always be easily identified ahead of time.

As a means of influencing public or private policy, if there is a significant dissenting group who have veto power over proposals, then co-opting leaders of this group may, in fact, be a useful way of bringing about the desired policy change. The trade-offs required may bring about an end much more closely aligned to the goals of the co-opted group than the co-opting one. Thus, it can be a useful and important tactic in stimulating change.

Campaign Strategies

Roland Warren details this particular method of influence. To Warren, where agreement is not obvious on the surface but is feasible or possible, one group may attempt to persuade, inform, and educate the other group of the wisdom of a joint, shared, or single stance in relationship to the issue at stake. This is a common and well understood tactic. Again, referring to the legislative arena, it is clear that groups are always trying to educate other groups to the wisdom of their position. Since much legislation is enacted, usually on some sort of compromise basis, it is clear that campaign strategies are frequently successful. It does require that those using campaign strategies identify the significant others, individually or collectively, to determine the degree of difference in the positions of the groups involved and to systematically set out to engage in some sort of persuasive activities.

PROGRAM EVALUATION

Definitions

Following Attkisson and Broskowski (1978), program evaluation will be differentiated from evaluation research. For practitioners interested in social change, program evaluation in some scale is within their reach as a viable tool, while evaluation research is much more esoteric. Their definition follows: "Program evaluation is a process of making reasonable judgments about program effort, effectiveness, adequacy, and efficiency....the program evaluation process is based on systematic data collection and analysis and is designed for utilization in current program management and future planning" (p. 13).

Highlights of program evaluation include concerns about program effectiveness, management, cost and practically, political features, policy, timing, and the center of decisions. It is formative research, with little control over variables, and it may be systems or goal oriented.

In contrast, evaluation research is more heavily guided by scientific concerns, such as reliability, validity, generalizability, and the discovery of new knowledge. It can be more leisurely and generally involves experimental quasi-experimental manipulations. It is summative and concerned with linear cause and effect relations.

While summative evaluation research can be conducted for planned time periods, program evaluation is a type of ongoing program feedback. Goal attainment models try to measure progress against linear goals. System models assume system goals but try to evaluate feedback loops and multiple relationships.

Program evaluation may include formal sophisticated research design or routine program monitoring. To reiterate, however, its focus is on internal management, programs, and policy.

The National Institute of Mental Health has taken a similar pragmatic approach. They view program evaluation as "...a type of applied research in which program process and outcome characteristics are related explicitly to a set of values, such as program goals, objectives, and costs. Program evaluation is intended to improve services by increasing the quality and availability of information used for management decisionmaking, and for shaping services, and by making services more responsive to the needs of clients and catchment area residents" (1976, p. 1).

Program evaluation is like project management. It is principally an internal, anlytic, change tool, an intergral component of management. Its purpose is to improve programs and to give direction to change. Knowledge development is a secondary consideration. Ordinarily it is done "in-house," although for special purposes consultants or outsiders may participate. The evaluator(s) thus must have a unique combination of skills. In addition to the traditional research competency, the successful evaluator must understand organizational dynamics and selected business management procedures. Cost accounting, unit costs and and cost effectiveness studies are a central component of program evaluation (Broskowski, 1976).

Broskoski (1976) spells out the developmental steps for effective internal ongoing program evaluation. (One shot evaluation can proceed without all of these elements but a developmental evaluation process is much more effective as a viable ongoing change tool.)

First of all it is necessary to be able to measure the system's level of effort (its amounts and distribution of inputs) as a base line for the later measure of its level of performance, adequacy, and efficiency. Thus to have effective continuous program evaluation the design and implementation of a management information system (MIS) is necessary to give data on program effort and cost. With an ongoing MIS, the measurement of program or client outcomes is not only substantially facilitated, but much more likely to influence management decisions by providing the capacity to relate the outcome measures to the amount and types of effort and necessary costs. Adequacy, impact and cost efficiency studies come last.

Levels of Evaluation

Suchman (1967) identifies five levels of evaluation. First is the level of effort, in which one measures the input, the quantity of effort that goes into a program. As suggested earlier, effort measures are a fundamental building block. Next he identifies the level of performances—the results of effort. This is the output measure. This level of evaluation requires a delineation of objectives and outcome measures. It is more difficult and expensive than measures of effort alone. The third level of evaluation is adequacy of performance — measures of performance relative to measures of total need and resources. Adequacy may reflect the effectiveness rate times the number of persons served. Impact is further differentiated from adequacy or performance. A very effective program intervention may have very little impact due to its small size or exposure to people in need. Frequently this is due to high unit cost of delivery the service. The fourth evaluation level is efficiency. In this case, measures of performance or outcome relative to cost or inputs are identified. Can the same results be achieved in a better way? Better could be defined as less expensive, better staff morale, better client morale, or more citizen participation. Efficiency evaluation requires careful assessment of what is to be considered a benefit and what is to be considered a cost. Such evaluations may require expensive und complex operations research or cost-benefit analysis.

The final level of evaluation identified by Suchman is process evaluation. Although not strictly speaking a form of program evaluation, it attempts to determine why a program or intervention works or does not work. It is a form of basic research designed to discover cause-effect relationships.

Three other procedures useful to evaluate programs although not classically included under definitions of program evaluation are monitoring, external reporting systems, and cost analysis. Monitoring means continued external observation about a program's managerial and operational effectiveness. It can be done through periodic site visits, management information systems and through impressionistic means. It implies the use of judgment, whether the indicators be objective or subjective. The reporting systems are the classical routine statistical or verbal report procedures integral to every organization. The cost analysis comes through examination of budget and financial data.

With any of the forms of evaluation, policy or programmatic changes or modifications may be possible as a consequence of the generated data.

To illustrate utilization of program evaluation when Casper Weinberger was the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, he distributed a memo giving guidance for a regional evaluation plan (1973). He focused on three categories: management or administrative efficiency evaluations directed toward how well HEW was carrying out its established objectives. Next he stressed program strategy evaluations which examined the major choices of reaching desired outcomes such as alternative delivery systems, efficiency of alternative techniques, and program interactions. Finally he spoke of program impact or benefit evaluations which provide careful measurement of the actual effects of one or more programs on their beneficiaries. These evaluations required moderate to sophisticated methodology focused on alternative objectives, program strategy, and program structure — that is finding out what works or does not work and why.

Besides these definitional distinctions and complexities, a series of additional concerns can be noted. Most important is how the problem is conceptualized, for that will determine the action and expectation for results. For example, we lack agreement on the causes of social problems (crime, poverty, ill health, etc.). This lack of agreement can lead to post hoc arguments about the validity of outcome measures or the value of evaluation. A second concern, noted above, relates to methodological difficulties. There are and will continue to be problems in research design and method, but these shortcomings, which are decreasing over time can be misued as a "copout" for doing nothing. Any evaluation can always be criticized on some aspects of its methodology. A third level of the problem is related to bureaucratic and political issues. Many vested and powerful interest groups,

managers, staff, and organizational constituencies make evaluation studies difficult to subsidize and to implement. The last problem is finding people with the appropriate research skills.

When To Do Program Evaluation

Assuming the desire to conduct program evaluations, one set of preconditions should be pragmatic:

(1) The greater the likelihood that program decisions will be influenced by a study, the greater the justification for doing it.
(2) Even when given favorable conditions, effort and funds should be concentrated on program evaluation only where it is feasible to secure meaningful answers.
(3) Do program evaluation where a decision regarding initiation, continuation, modification, or termination is imminent and you still have to the time to do an evaluation.
(4) When you can generate resources to do an adequate job;
(5) When it will be cost effective, that is, if program evaluation is done it is reasonable to assume that the data benefits will exceed the cost of the study; and
(6) When it is necessary to determine with clarity and specificity those policies or problems of sufficient importance to warrant the conflict, the evaluation may generate. If you are not going to create some conflict within an organization or system, it is not likely to be a very useful study. Then, finally, consistently strive for implementation of the findings.

When Not To Do Program Evaluation

You do not perform program evaluation under the following circumstances:

(1) When your results will arrive too late for effective use;
(2) When your data is likely to be irrelevant to critical problems or policy issues;
(3) When your data lacks objectivity; and
(4) When methodological weaknesses are evident. If in doubt let the managers, politicians, or policymakers make their own decision. Their experience or intuition is probably better. Their first objective is to do no harm. The researcher is unlikely to be very sophisticated about policy or politics.
(5) When the potential user is strongly resistant to the use of such data, do not bother. A corollary to this last caution is to be cautious of organizations where the desire for support of influential or vested interest groups has constrained their behavior in the past.
(6) Do not evaluate when the likely results are clearly politically unfeasible. You say, well, how would you know what the results will be? You should be able to anticipate the outcome, and in most cases you do! That is your business.
(7) When the potential user is apathetic, program evaluation is futile. When you find organizational inertia, you can presume an organization that is change resistant. This may be one of those situations where you should not waste your time.
(8) When your user population lacks the capacity to follow through...why waste time with program evaluation if they cannot use the study results.
(9) When users are more committed to values of intuition and experience in decisionmaking than using science or data;
(10) When the likely findings will conflict with your own personal ideology;
(11) When you lack the capacity to disseminate and communicate your findings; and
(12) When you are a political novitiate and lack politically sophisticated allies.

These are all good reasons not to do program evaluation. However, there may be reasons why you proceed in spite of these objections. It may be caused by fundamental ethical issues — you have no choice. But if you are going ahead with all of the above noted obstacles, you should be aware of the thicket which you are entering.

Organizational Considerations

Most human services programs can be characterized as having: (1) no clear and objective goals; (2) no identifiable output measures; (3) either no or a poor reporting system; and (4) no system to utilize evaluation results (Wholey, 1970).

In addition to organizational failures in respect to clarity of goals and objectives, and means to measure these objectives, there is an equal lack of competent research personnel, research tools, and an organizational structure to undertake large-scale evaluation.

Thus, organizations are not designed or structured to be self-evaluative. Wildavsky (1972) suggests some principles which better related evaluation and organizational imperatives. (Wildavsky is not overly optimistic that even if all of these criteria are met, program evaluation will necessarily take place with any great frequency.) Most important is the need for trust among the key actors. The entire organization must be imbued with the spirit of evaluation. Strong sanctions from top administration are essential. Supporting incentives should be structured along with an ongoing strong sell. Feedback is integral. Change needs strong legitimation. Experimentation is the heart of evaluation. The evaluators need protection. Policy and program shifts must follow evaluation of findings. Environmental support (political help) must be secured. Knowledge should be joined with power. Diversification of support is advised.

Steps in Program Evaluation

Although most of the major steps will be identified in the following discussion, the actual sequence may vary in practice, and not all steps are necessarily required for all program evaluations. Some steps may require more or less effort depending upon the relative availability of past and present information and resources. The operation of a management information system substantially enhances most of the effort (Demone and Broskowski, 1974). The steps are linked in part to the just discussed do's and don'ts.

The most difficult but critical step is goal specification. What is it that you intend to do? What was the objective? Can it be broken down by subobjectives for different program activities or methods? Can the relationship between subobjectives be clarified? For example who or what is the target? (Is it an institution, group, family, individual, organ of the body, etc., or combinations of the above?) Are the targets direct or indirect? Are you trying to directly influence children, or are you trying to influence teachers who in turn will influence children? From what are you changing and to what? This question assumes that you have some base line measures of "where you're at." Next is the consideration of the possible diffusion effects to related targets. There may be both positive or negative unanticipated side effects of a program.

What is the time frame for the objective? Is it a short-range or long-range goal? When will the effects be noticeable? Does benefit for one target mean cost to another target? What is the magnitude of the effort? Are there any special conditions, special constraints, or interactions?

It is most important that the goals and the conditions associated with the goals be specified in advance as much as is reasonably possible. It is also important that these goals and conditions be negotiated with all important constituencies to have as much agreement as possible. Simultaneously, anticipate the alternative results of the evaluation and try to think ahead about what actions would be taken with different results.

If the adequacy or impact of a new program is being evaluated, a needs assessment may be necessary. Needs can be appraised by several methods, including requests for services, surveys, information and referral data, census data, social indicators, media, other studies and special constituencies (Siegel, Attkisson, and Carson, 1978).

Another logical, developmental step in program evaluation has to do with the implementation of the evaluation. Are the resources available to do the evaluation? These would include both manpower in general and the special competencies possibly required. Does the organization have the capacity to accommodate the costs? Moving

from level of effort to efficiency studies increases the costs substantially. Are the sanctions and linkages necessary to evaluate a program? Who will be represented in the planning evaluation in addition to the evaluators and the evaluatees? Will consumers be involved, will board members be involved, will administrators be involved? Will all of the work be done by existing staff or will outsiders be used for selected components or all of the research?

I have already referred to the general issue of methodology. Here I will be more specific. Are the measuring tools reliable and valid? Has a sample of units to be measured been determined? Are the appropriate statistical analytic methods usable? And who is to interpret the data since the results may have multiple alternative plausible explanations? The purpose of an effective research design is to aid interpretation by eliminating alternative or competing explanations for either positive or negative results.

Data Collection Methods

The following tools are useful although not all need be used in any given evaluation. Some judgment needs to be made about which methods are chosen. Ordinarily the two principal considerations in the selection of tools will be the required level of validity of the data which will be generated by the methods and the cost of the methods. The methods include: interviews (structured or not); special scales or questionnaires of many different types; observations (standardized-live, films, etc.); ratings (by self, peers, experts, or others); statistics or other social indicators; situational tests or simulations; physical evidence; clinical records; financial records; and other types of documents (minutes).

Conclusion

Having cautioned about the limits of data utilization in the real, complex, pluralistic, political and competitive world, it is abundantly clear that improved data quantification is necessary. At the least, quantification may force more explicit definition allowing honest and open debate about objectives. Comparisons become more possible.

As I note certain gross inadequancies in our ability to effectively analyze alternatives, we may be only a few years away from a new set of problems characterized by information overload. First, the social change agent's future problem may not be a lack of data but rather the difficulties of effectively coping with excess information. Next, the whole question of technological evaluation has stimulated a new set of problems, especially regarding citizen and consumer participation. Despite the many advantages resulting from an age of technological evaluation, we still have to be aware of its associated perils. The technology and language of evaluation are becoming increasingly complex even at its present elementary stage. The escalating sophistication of the technology is going to make it increasingly complicated for even the well-educated nonevaluator to effectively participate in decisionmaking. Will this lack of sophistication make them secure or insecure as objectively determined indices and solutions controvert politically reached solutions? If insecurity is fostered by the revision of priorities, the appropriateness of technological contributions will be increasingly questioned, challenged, and perhaps circumscribed.

I have suggested that there are two alternative, yet compatible, means of evaluation — the traditional method using a variety of sophisticated research procedures and a second using contemporary management procedures combined with research tools. Both are useful and necessary but it is likely that contemporary social welfare programs will make more effective use of the management-oriented evaluations since human service agencies are now heavily immersed in many of the basic procedures. Program budgets and cash and accrual accounting procedures are commonplace now in almsot all social welfare institutions. Many have a sophisticated client information system. Some have staff reporting and service transaction systems. The pressure is on to integrate client information systems, service transaction systems, and accounting systems into integrated management information systems. The technology is available to automate and integrate

these formerly fragmented data pools. The final step — to integrate effort with outcome measures—will probably be longer in coming, but its very inevitability requires that we experiment now with these program evaluation measures. One simple and beginning step being taken by a number of service organizations is the use of consumer satisfaction surveys. Another step is to develop norms comparing similar organizations in effort, outcome, and efficiency measures (Attkisson, Hargreaves et al., 1978)

Thus, despite the complexity of the problem, staff and methodological limitations, inadequate sanction and support, and formidable political obstacles, I see the American human service system moving heavily into program evaluation in the next decade.

NEGOTIATING AND BARGAINING

This chapter deals with negotiating as a means available to change oriented community workers and organizations. As with advocacy planning, it is currently perceived as a means of helping impoverished clientele (Brager and Jorrin, 1969), but it can be used on behalf of many groups.

Negotiations go on all the time, everywhere. Nations negotiate. Management and labor negotiate. Community groups negotiate. Husband, wife and children negotiate. We all negotiate.

The Red Cross in its power struggle with the United Way, or the Homemaker agency in dealing with the Rate Setting Commission enter into negotiation.

Negotiation may be spurious or serious. The former may occur as a way to avoid actual negotiating for fear of the consequences. It may be used to obfuscate or delay. It may be used to expose opponents (Brager and Jorrin, 1969).

The negotiation (or bargaining) may be implicit or explicit (Brager and Jorrin, 1969). Implicit means positioning—public attacks on the opponent in order to soften him up prior to the actual negotiation, or instead of negotiation. A newspaper story reports that an Hispanic agency is going to sit in on several organizations identified in the story. In this case the developing Puerto Rican community needs both recognition and some organizational successes. Their strategy includes several features. They announce publicly that they are discriminated against in resource allocation. They indicate the nature of the problem. They choose as publicly identified opponents those several organizations in the community who have already demonstrated a concern about the deprivation of the Hispanic Community and are working with them. Thus they are guaranteed some public success. To a substantial degree they are asking publicly for what they have already been promised privately. This will enhance their position in the underdeveloped, pluralistic, new migrant community.

Explicit negotiation means direct exchange between contending parties. The rest of the chapter deals with this form of negotiation.

Definitions

Since bargaining and negotiating are often confused and interchanged, it is best to refer to *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* for clarification. Most important is that they can, in fact, be used interchangably. The second definition of bargaining is "to arrive at an agreement" (p. 107). The first definition of negotiate is "To treat with another or others in order to come to terms or reach an agreement." The second choice of a definition for negotiating is "To arrange or settle by confering or discussing" (p. 879). Parenthetically, the first definition of bargaining has to do with the agreements or contracts, especially relative to the purchase and sale of services and goods, and in general this theme dominates the definition. Thus for the purposes of this chapter since the exchange of goods and services is seldom at issue, negotiation will be the term used continuously.

Nierenberg, the author of three texts on negotiating and an expert negotiator, describes negotiation as "Whenever people exchange ideas with the intention of changing relationships. Whenever they confer for agreement, they are negotiating" (1973, p. 4).

Samuel Johnson suggested that "It is difficult to negotiate when neither will trust" *(American Heritage Dictionary,* 1969, p. 879).

The Range

The terms used in negotiation are many and colorful; Chinese auction, escalation, low-balling, and apparent withdrawal are several. They reflect the range of strategies and tactics available to the skilled negotiator.

AMR International Inc. (Advanced Management Research) over the last several years has run two day seminars on "Successful Negotiations: strategies, executions, and pitfalls" across the country. Seven major themes are identified: (1) negotiating in today's external environment; (2) what makes an effective negotiator; (3) assessing needs and setting objectives; (4) preparing for negotiation; (5) negotiating for mutual gain; (6) behavior in negotiations; and (7) followup after the negotiations.

Preparation

Know yourself. Know your opponent. What are your objectives? Can you separate out short-range and long-range goals? What will you settle for? Do you have agreement among yourselves? Know what you want. Clearly delimit and prioritize. Understand what each of the elements costs in money, prestige, and influence.

Is someone clearly identified as your leader — the person who will represent you in the negotiation? What style do you intend to use? What are your resources? How long can you wait? How much power and influence do you have?

As for your opponents, you should ask the same questions. Additionally what has been your relation to them over time? Has trust developed? What strategies will they use? Why would they agree to any of your requests or demands? Why would they compromise? Have you anticipated the potential road blocks and disasters? Are your defenses as well established as your offenses?

Skills in setting the demands may be most important. To Schelling (1963, p. 68), the ability ". . . to set the stage in such a way to give prominence to some particular outcome that would be favorable" is significant. The definition of the problem and the way it is delimited could be as valid as the merit of the case.

Prenegotiation

In order for a community group or agency to persuade a more powerful body to negotiate, some parity or appearance of parity is necessary. The welfare mothers have little parity with the public welfare authority, its several thousand employees, and billion dollar budget. The welfare mothers need attention, yet the welfare department often seems blind to their plight. Thus the prenegotiation phase is often essential. They are not the Teamsters Union relating to a trucking firm whose employees they have already organized.

Drama is often required. Threats, bluster, demands, confrontation, sit-ins, and demonstrations may be necessary to secure attention, to persuade the larger organization that they should attend to the smaller body. Further, the public nature of the threats and the discomfort created for the bureaucrats is always available as a tool if the bureaucracy stonewalls them or an impass is reached.

It sould be noted that reputational factors also enter into the process. The new, black, inner city agency may be thought to have oppositional qualities even if it intends to use other methods of negotiation. The old, well established family agency would not be perceived as a similar threat. Thus for the black agency the threat need never be made explicit.

Parenthetically, it should be noted that there are many successful politicians who have made their reputations and have been elected and reelected on their oppositional qualities. Threats by minority groups, especially implemented threats, are these politicians' bread and butter. They thrive and need such public opposition. Thus discretion is sometimes necessary unless you want them to be reelected. Guilt ridden officials respond more readily to threat making. Thus, the prenegotition phase can be very important. Brager and Jorrin (1969) remind us that the professional or liberal politican's self-image can be an important leverage point. People with well institutionalized client or people-serving norms may be much more responsive.

First, bargain as to whether you should bargain. Then if you agree to do so, negotiate the agenda and site. Try to set limits on the areas to be negotiated.

Who Does the Negotiating?

A team, an individual, or team with a clear leader are all legitimate choices. Ordinarily, a team without a leader may find itself at a disadvantage, although at certain points in the negotiating process you may want it to appear that some anarchy is possible. Someone needs to orchestrate as an individual or team leader. If you do use a team, each member should be assigned a specific responsibility, e.g., keeping a score card, specializing in some major component, or just watching body communications among the opponents for some significant clues. The chief negotiator for both groups should be someone who is respected and who carries weight with each organization.

The Site of the Negotiation

Three choices exist — their place, your place, or a neutral site. Ordinarily if you are asking/demanding you would be expected to meet at their site, but if you can secure an arrangement to meet in a neutral site, neither side is at a disadvantage. If that is what you want, feel free to tell your opponents.

The rituals and physicial arrangements are both important. Where will the meeting sections be held? Are there rooms for separate meetings? Is there a place to eat? Will you eat together? Or separately? How many people participate? How many sit at the table? Are the people mixed or on opposite sides? How many people sit in rows behind the table?

Collective Bargaining

A special form of negotiation is called collective bargaining. It ordinarily occurs around prescribed areas: wages, hours, and fringe benefits, unless both parties agree to add other topics.

Collective bargaining is a continuing process because of the nature of the agreement. It is between management and labor. Changes are bilateral—both must agree, both must implement.

Many laws and regulations affect the bargaining process, e.g., the Landrum-Griffin Act, the Taft-Hartley Act, National Labor Relations Act, Right to Work (in some States), ERISA, OSHA, EEOC, Child Labor Laws, Minimum Wage Provisions, Hours and Overtime Laws, etc.

In addition, the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service and State counterpart agencies exist to facilitate the negotiation process.

In collective bargaining, the drafting, writing, and details of the contract are very difficult and complex. Usually they are left to experts once there is a general agreement.

Some key problems may be deferred for later contracts. Because of the longstanding relationship, decisions are never ultimate and final. They can refer problems to study in between contracts. Collective bargaining is like a marriage — relationships continue even though there may be difficulties.

Labor leaders are very pragmatic — they want specific, visible results. The contract termination can become a strike deadline date, and negotiations at this time can become very intense. Collective bargaining is a straight business discussion.

Problem-Solving Methods

If there is no major issue, the round table may be used. There will be no head, no foot, no sides. Nor will there be confrontation. Everyone can be heard and it is peaceful.

Alternatively, an issue may be discussed. Clarification may be sought. Some compromise, winning, or losing may be involved. There will be a discussion, and it will still be peaceful.

Negotiation of an issue takes it one step further. It is a transaction between people with give and take. It is more formalized. There is usually a trade between issues. It has a potential for increasing or decreasing tensions.

Dimensions of Bargaining

What are the ground rules? When will you meet? Who calls the meeting? Is there a formal date for the implementation of the demands? Who are the spokesmen? Are they delegated or elected? By whom? Is there team discipline?

All internal differences should be resolved before the formal negotiations take place. Any public display of such differences can impair the position of the negotiating parties.

Is someone at work calculating the various positions, the degree of the agreement, the degree of disagreement? Is the cost being totaled? Should a professional negotiator be employed? How about a backup negotiator?

Emotion and rhetoric are often used by those skilled in negotiation. Sometimes the rhetoric and emotion is not a necessary precursor before serious bargaining can begin; it is a form of ritual. Negotiation is a rough and ready game.

When you first meet to negotiate, always have a witness with you. Write down the names, addresses, and telephone numbers of those participating. This is not a time for idle chatter. This is a straight business conversation. Run the meeting.

AMR (1976) urges the use and understanding of hidden persuaders which they discribe as: emotional security, reinsurance of worth, ego gratification, creature outlets, love objectives, sense of power, sense of roots, and immortality.

Actual Negotiation

You may have your rough scenario; keep it flexible. As the situation changes, you will have to adjust. When you do, the problem of hasty decisions about unfamiliar issues is evident; thus, you may want to take them to caucus. You may be in your fallback position, but do not despair. The counter proposal is often effective.

AMR suggests that you be willing to table uncertain assumptions. Also, they advocate using hypothetical situations before dealing with specific issues.

Nierenberg (1973) advocates asking questions and listening well. He and AMR both urge attention to nonverbal communications ranging from sounds and silence, gestures, posture, and facial expressions. Avoid person bickering — personalities are unimportant and diversionary. The issues are important, be businesslike.

AMR suggests that tactics and strategies are concerned with persons who are ready, persons who are not ready, and persons who are not ready but will be if the terms suit them.

Stick by your position if you are sure you are right but avoid self-fulfilling prophecies.

When or if an impasse has been reached be prepared for informal talks. The coffee or luncheon break may be crucial. Do not be afraid to extend them if progress is being made.

Demands can be extreme or within realistic, established limits. Organized labor sometimes uses the ploy of unrealistic demands. However, the translation of this to situations where negotiation is not common may backfire. Management, sophisticated in collective bargaining, can accomodate to grandiosity. It is known to use the same ploy. On occassion it may fire all the labor leaders. (They will rehire later.) The unions will complain of unfair labor practices. Politicians and bureaucrats, whose socialization process does not include much familiarity with this type of forceable bargaining (much of it ritualized), may dig in their heels and refuse to take the situation seriously. Their feelings may be hurt. They take it personally. The support of the general public is often essential in dealing with formal organizations. The games played in grandiose demands are unlikely to elicit such public support. For community negotiation to succeed, a degree of reasonableness in the demands is advised.

For a professional involved in negotiations which include large scale bureaucratic organizations and many middle class respondents, a moderate, balanced presentation is more likely to be effective than a one sided, extreme argument. The latter is more effective with audiences who are less educated, already in agreement, and who need a rallying force — essentially a pep talk.

Cautions

- Do not reliquish control of the meeting.
- Do not forget to keep you constituency informed of what is happening.
- Do not lose your patience unless it is done tactically toward a specific end.
- Do not demand the impossible
- Do not bluff unless you are certain of your position and are willing to follow through.

Be happy with less than a whole loaf. If you pressure too far, your opponent may turn and fight thus endangering your gains. Further he will not go away, his chance may come tomorrow. The classical maxim of the old politician is, "Don't get mad, get even." Thus try to avoid making enemies.

The Agreement

Ordinarily the agreement develops in incremental stages. When complete, the terms should be written; you should then analyze, review, and scrutinize. Be clear about dates. They should be carefully reviewed by both sides, the agreement should be signed or initialed. This is in anticipation of later disagreement about what actually was agreed. Memories may falter.

Errors/Cautions

I have already suggested some cautions. In fact much of the writing about negotiating focuses on what to avoid.

- Do not avoid doing your homework.
- Do not talk too much.
- Do not get involved in personalities.
- Do not get locked into a single unyielding scenario.
- Do not ignore the importance of understanding the alternative strategies and tactics.
- Do not be impatient.
- Do not be impetuous.
- Do not be afraid to take some risks.
- Do not gloat in public after the negotiation is complete.

And remember, negotiations are not always successful. Negotiations do not always bring about positive results. In small and medium sized communities in Wisconsin (75 percent of the State), the results of collective bargaining for teachers salaries was a "nearly infallible way to achieve a lower than average salary" (Frohreich and Zuelke, 1977, quoted in *Behavior Today*, p. 5). The more extensive the negotiations, the more likely the salaries of the teachers were to be lower. When the negotiating process became semipublic or public, local officials were less likely to compromise.

The Professional

Up front or behind the scenes; hard line or reasonable; strategist or leader; teacher or student; consultant or director—these are responsible alternative roles generally available to the professional working with community groups. Environmental forces influencing the situation may not permit the choice of the entire range of roles; some choices may be dictated by events. The college professor who leads his collegues in negotiating with the college president, may find his relations with the university administration permanantly damaged. Yet as the president of the academic senate, the role requirement permitted few alternatives. His role was to aggressively pursue the objectives of his colleagues. Similarly the social worker assigned to outreach may find himself in a situation where administrative action by his local welfare office has seriously deprived and damaged the group with whom he is working. If he is to retain the loyalty and confidence of the group, he must be even more vigorous than they in the negotiations.

If the situation demands immediate relief, the professional may find an active role is required. If instead the current negotiation is to be one of a series, then the role of the professional will often be to help train the group to assume their own negotiation. In this case, the professional can stay in the background.

Nor can personal variable be minimized. Some people are more comfortable in certain roles than others. The typical human services worker is trained to understand the problems of people. At times this may be a detriment in negotiations.

Substantive competence is another variable of importance. Since effective negotiations often include substantive content, the members familiar and competent in the substantive area under discussions should be expected to participate. Expertise is sometimes essential.

Superordinate Goal

The ultimate objective and the one which usually has the best long range potential is a negotiation which has both sides winning. Of course, you may want to gain more than your opponent; but, if you plan to be in the arena again, you should avoid having your opponent lose public face. In private, you can be more flexible.

Conciliation, Mediation, and Arbitration

There are occasions when third party intervention is appropriate. Arbitration is differentiated by conciliation and mediation in that its decision are final and binding. In general all three procedures are evenhanded ways of reviewing the issues. They may separate the contending groups into caucuses. The processes are fact oriented. They tend to put little down in writing in the beginning.

Fact finding is another procedure used to settle grievances between public employees and the government. The fact finder acts in an advisory capacity as a third party. In general, they will place the facts on paper, write a report for public perusal, and make recommendations.

Interest arbitration is another device used in the public sector. The focus is on wages, hours, and conditions. Binding decisions may be made.

Grievance arbitration is ordinarily focused on contractual issues. More private sector contracts have such provisions. It is fact oriented, final, and binding.

Conclusion

All policy decisions in all of the human services are influenced by bargaining and negotiating at the point that differences are identifiable and unilateral decisions are unlikely. When the competing forces lack the power to force a favorable decision and they recognize the other group as having influence and some legitimacy, negotiation will occur.

Certainly negotiation is fundamental to our political process. In labor-management disputes, it has been highly honed. Wherever it takes place, the result may be a new statute, rule, regulation, contract, sale or purchase, international agreement, withdrawal to new borders, a law suit, conflict, war, renewed hostilities, or a new cooperative relationship.

Bargaining and negotiating is seldom a game and may have long-term serious policy consequences.

SOCIAL CHANGE AND THE COURTS

Deinstitutionalization, rehabilitation, habilitation, due process, civil rights, least restrictive setting, dangerousness, right to treatment, right to liberty, right to counsel, freedom of speech, client's rights, and protection against self-incrimination are some of the facets of human services affected by recent court decisions.

"Of all of the policy processes, the judicial process is the one that is formally most programmed for 'rational' decisionmaking. Judicial decisions must rest on evidence. Judicial opinions state results in terms of reason. Judges and juries are insulated from extraneous influences. The assumption of the judicial process is that where reason resides the public interest will emerge" (Horowits, 1977, p. 148).

Thus, the traditional point of view is that the courts are nonpartisan, nonpolitical vehicles, in balance with the political executive and legislative branches. Judge Learned Hand limited the courts by referring to the Federal Constitution which gave "no ground for inferring that the decisions of the Supreme Court. . . were to be authoritative upon the Executive and Legislative" (Hand, 1958, p. 27).

In fact ever since the noteworthy 1803 *Marbury* v. *Madison* decision establishing the principle of judicial supremacy - the constitution is the supreme law of the land - the courts have taken on themselves judicial veto power [5 U.S. (1 Cranch) 137 (1803) cited in Friedman, 1972].

From this important act of veto the Federal Supreme Court has become a significant and active force in the establishment and implementation of policy. Adolph Berle has even suggested that "ultimate legislative power in the United States has come to rest in the Supreme Court of the United States" (Berle, *The Three Forces of Power*, 1967, p. 3, cited in Friedman, 1972, p. 33-34).

In fact, in the bulk of its decisions the judiciary makes nonpolitical decisions based upon precedent. Yet, as Friedman notes:

> "Some pieces of litigation involve the courts in decisions weighted with varying degrees of political choice, that is, decisions regarding some selection between opposing social policies. . . . thus they . . . give rise to courtroom confrontations between collective demands and individual claims. The very nature of the judicial function involves courts in unavoidable choices between conflicting policy claims" (Friedman, 1972, p. 34).

As with the executive and legislative branches, the higher the court the more far-reaching the decisions can be. Illustrative of the creative interaction of law and social policy are decisions regarding: freedom of the press; due process of law; guarantee against self-incrimination; reapportionment; school segregation; school busing; and welfare residency requirements.

Kurland (1974) identifies two essential constituional rights for the beneficiaries of social welfare. First, a legislative body may not discriminate against a given category of beneficiaries in an arbitrary manner to stimulate the disfavor of the court. Second, the beneficiary must be assued procedural due process in the labyrinth of bureaucracy.

In essence ". . . there is no constitutional right to social welfare benefits, but there is a constituional right not to have them taken away for some reason that does not satisfy the constituional commands of equality and fairness, however minimal these concepts may seem to those who now contend for equality of condition rather than merely equality of opportunity" (Kurland, 1974, p. 489).

Even this difference could be resolved according to some cynics who state that the Constitution is what the Supreme Court decides it is.

Turk (1976) suggests two different views of the law in society: (1) the "moral functionalist" conception of law as a way of precluding or settling disputes; and (2) the view of law as power: "A set of responses whose control and mobilization can in many ways—generate and exacerbate conflicts rather than resolving or softening them" (p.

276). At the least, legal decisions paly a role ". . . in creating, sustaining, denying, and changing the perceptions and understandings by which people live" (Turk, p. 288).

Nature of Court System

The potential user of the court system must understand its range and complexity. In addition to the Federal system there are 50 individual State systems which vary from State to State. Within each of these 51 overall systems there are additional sub-subsystems which specialize in particular areas such as: juvenile courts, probate courts, small claims courts, family courts, etc.

In addition courts are divided by criminal and civil jurisdictions. It is not my purpose to detail the function of each system nor to differentiate the nature of their jurisdiction but rather to note their complexity and to suggest that if one intends to use the judicial system as a means of social change, competent legal counsel is essential.

Stone (1975), a psychiatrist, speaks of the moral processes of the Constitution as they apply to social policy. He identifies three specific features:

> "The Constitution should be seen as defining specific negative rights against government power. . . (2) Beyond negative rights, the Constitution should be seen as establishing a moral residuum for all social policy which assures all citizens of the modern state minimum guarantees of a decent standard of life. (3) The law should be the watchdog of public policy. Given the ramified, dispersed power of the mega-state, the law must assure the coordination of policy systems, and insure that the legislative will is worked in the real world" (p. 15-16).

The Regulatory System

The legislature enacts laws; the executive branch administers the laws. Usually a law—an enabling act, for example, requires interpretation. Such interpretation may be provided by regulations. Often the statute is very general and to administer a complex program, for example, Title XIX of the Social Security Act (Medicaid), elaborate implementation regulations are necessary. Thus administrative law is created and administrative adjudicatory processes are developed.

A special subset of regulatory bodies are to be found in special commissions or boards; Milk Control Boards, Boards of Registration in Medicine, Boards of Barbers, etc., which have their own powers and become quasi-judicial bodies. Where regulatory or quasi-judicial bodies are established, the trial process is first held before these bodies, only then is it likely that the formal judicial system will hear an appeal.

The change processes to be discussed in this chapter thus includes both the formal judicial body as well as the quasi-judicial bodies as potential targets of remedial action.

Policy via the Bureaucracy

Parenthetically throughout this monograph, I have noted the power and authority of the entrenched bureaucrat. I will reinterate this idea here. Although not a formal author of policy or regulation, his influence is substantial. Millions of discretionary decisions are made each year by administrators and become both an important source of law and an important means of changing organizational behavior. What administrators or social workers or policemen do, or do not do, becomes the law for those affected by their actions unless subject to objective public scrutiny and review.

The Right of the Worker

In respect to the freedom of speech clause of the First Amendment of the Constitution a growing scale of cases has expanded the rights of governmental workers to complain about their status and to advocate on behalf of their clients. In 1964 the U.S. Supreme Court (*New York Times Co.* v. *Sullivan)* concluded that a public official could not receive

compensation for defamatory falsehood concerning official behavior in the absence of proof that the statement was made with "actual malice" — i.e., with knowledge of its falsity. Since that case a series of State and appellate court decisions in New York, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Missouri, and elsewhere have established the right of social workers to criticize their agencies in public (Maher, 1974).

Maher (1974) concludes ". . . the social service worker employed by a government agency is not bereft of first amendment protection against administrative retaliation. In fact, it is the agency's legal responsibility to prove that the worker's activities did materially and substantially impair his usefulness as a social service worker. Such activities may only be limited if they materially disrupt the work setting or involve substantial disorder or invation of the rights of other employees" (p. 702).

Utilization of the Legal System

Laws and regulations are frequently lengthy and complex, seemingly written for the technocraft, seldom for the general public. Careful review and consultation from people skilled in legal interpretation is essential if the legal advocacy route is to be taken.

Public interest law groups, legal aid societies, and bar association committees are all potential legal allies. It is seldom that they will initiate action; thus the advocate must seek their aid. Ideally a continuing relationship should be established in order that counsel develop some specialty in the human services. Human services law is becoming increasingly intricate and complex.

Speciality groups, such as the National Center for the Law and the Handicapped at Notre Dame, and the Mental Health Law Project in Washington, D.C., are valuable resources.

Some Current Examples

Schottland (1974) notes some of the recent legal changes which occurred only after many years of challenge: (1) striking down residence laws as unconstitutional barriers to public assistance eligibility; (2) declaring the informal proceedings of juvenile courts unconstitutional where due process of law is not afforded; (3) making illegal, midnight raids on AFDC mothers; (4) recognizing a constitutional right to education for the retarded and a right to treatment for the mentally ill; and (5) finding a new role for the courts in administrative matters in the management of public social welfare programs.

In Mississippi, the Youth Court ordered that a juvenile offender be released from the State training school and transferred to the State Welfare Authority because the former lacked, and the latter had, the needed psychotherapy. In New Jersey, in a similar situation the State was required to place a juvenile in a private facility and pay the cost of such care. The Maine Supreme Court ruled that the State must pay for orthodontic services for juveniles as required by Federal regulation. In California, foster parents were granted the right to appear as parties in custody hearings regarding their foster child. Georgia's voluntary admission law for juvenile offenders was found to be lacking in adequate procedures safeguarding the rights of the juvenile (*New Human Services Review*, 1975).

The famous *O'Connor* v. *Donaldson* decision 493 F 2d. 507 (5th Cir 1974) and 43 USLW 4929 (1975) is another signal of the reexamination of the relation of the courts to the social welfare system. The involuntarily committed mentally ill patient can no longer be ignored. The legal and mental health systems will need to work together. In essence the Supreme Court decision challenges or raises serious questions about: (1) involuntary commitment for psychiatric treatment on the grounds of dangerousness; (2) the principle of least restrictive alternatives to hospitalization; (3) the adequacy of treatment in respect to nationally accepted standards; and (4) personal liability of physicians for their professional actions (Kopolow, 1976).

Other classic cases are the right to treatment decisions by Judge Bazelon, the first of which was *Rouse* v. *Cameron*, 373 F 2d. 451 (1966) and the *Wyatt* v. *Stickney* case (U.S. District Court, Alabama, March 12, 1971). In the latter case, the Court assumed general

review jurisdiction over the adequacy of treatment, the size of caseloads, number of personnel, frequency of treatment, etc. (Schottland, 1974).

The 1974 *Welsch* v. *Likins* Minnesota Judicial Court decision regarding retardation is having a similar effect in that State as are comparable decisions in other State courts.

In the last decade or so, the courts have entered directly into administrative decisionmaking to protect the public interest from agencies appearing indifferent to their legislative mandate. Thus they sit in judgment on both administrative action and inaction (Horowitz, 1977). Skepticism seems to be the dominant theme in many courts.

A side effect ot the administrative activities of the courts is the problem the courts have in being separated from the appropriation process. For most of the history of the American court system, the appropriation process was seen as an exclusive function of the legislative branch, but recent court decisions have challenged this division of authority. Federal courts have required the City of Boston to provide better quarters for prisoners and integrated public schools, both cost money. The State Housing Court in Boston has required the remodeling of public housing. The New Jersey Supreme Court struck down local school aid provisions. The net result of these and many other decisions across the nation is to substantially impact on the legislative process of appropriation either by redistribution of existing resources or by increasing taxes. The choice between the two is ultimately a legislative one, but the stimulus is a judicial one.

The Due Process Clause

I have already noted that the "due process" clauses of the fifth and 14th amendments to the U.S. Constitution, within certain limits, offer important opportunities to the social welfare community. Dickson (1976) reviewed the potential and limits for social workers. Due process does not generate new resources. It may require a more equitable distribution of existing resources. It may reduce arbitrary decision. It may increase the time required to make decisions. It may divert staff time from substantive concerns to process concerns.

Due process in the form of hearings, has been extended ". . . to a variety of individuals, among them juvenile delinquents, juvenile and adult offenders in correctional institutions, probationers, parolees, mental patients, public welfare recipients, public housing residents, secondary school students and some consumers" (Dickson, 1976, p. 274).

Thus many client groups bewildered and intimidated by the bureaucratic web we have created are at least eligible to receive a fair hearing. The hearing process can range from the formal judicial (legal counsel, evidence, cross examination) to the more rudimentary (impartial examiner; opportunity to hear charges if any, and to be heard; and possible assistance and cross examination) (Dickson, 1976).

For the worker in the field impatient with administrative mishandlings, the recent successful "due process" cases allow for a number of alternative roles. Ordinarily, it begins with encouraging a client to ask for a formal hearing when serious doubts occur relative to fair administrative procedures. Next, the worker may assist the client in the preparation of the case. They may review the laws and regulations in order to better prepare a case or interview other significant clients. They may serve as an expert witness or as quasi-counsel and argue the case.

To assume these roles effectively, Dickson (1974) urges that the worker learn how the system is supposed to work — find out how lawyers, judges, and examiners play their roles, what they do and can do, and what they cannot do. Specifically, it means developing an understanding of how laws, regulations, and procedures influence the rules and actions of organizations and individuals. It also requires some knowledge about how legal bodies relate to each other and how they function relative to the enforcement of laws and regulations.

Although most constitutional protections cover both the public and private sectors, the "due process" provision of the 14th amendment is specifically limited to "State actions"

and cannot be used against private, profit or nonprofit organizations except when the actions of these groups are found to constitute "State action" (Dickson, 1976).

Equal Protection of the Laws, Cruel and Unusual Punishment and Involuntary Servitude

In addition to the "due process" clause, the 14th amendment also guarantees "equal protection of the laws." Combined with the "due process" provision, the eighth amendment's prohibition against "cruel and unusual punishment," and the 13th amendment proscription against "involuntary servitude," a battery of protections have been used on behalf of several client groups. Contrary to the spirit of "survival of the fittest," it requires a new American ethos and is particularly relative to the developmentally disabled. Typical institutional issues under these clauses which can be attacked include:". . . lack of individualized treatment or habilitation programs; the use of questionable therapies; such as seclusion or the use of mild electric shock, guardianship, transfer to other institutions; and issues of normalization such as privacy, mail, visitors, storage space, etc. . . . social security questions, consumer matters and criminal matters. . ." (Mayer, 1975, p. 8).

Mayer (1975) suggests a number of potential opportunities in developmental disabilities which are helpful to other groups as well: securing or improving educational rights in public schools; securing entitlements from local city, State, and Federal agencies; securing rehabilitation rather than criminal penalties for retarded offenders; assuring equal access to public buildings and public transportation; and pressing for elimination of restrictive zoning ordnances for group homes and halfway houses.

Some Interesting Complications

Should the government require people to participate in treatment programs? Should inmates be required to take drugs or surgery against their wishes even if the drugs or surgery could magically reform them (Underwood, 1976)?

A United States Supreme Court decision, *Stanley* v. *Illinois* 405 U.S. 645 (1972), required notice to unwed fathers with respect to adoption and custody proceedings relative to their children. Does this compel the mother to identify the father? Is the unwed father limited to those adjudicated or acknowledged as the father? Should the mother's name be included in the notification to the father (Barron, 1976)?

The *O'Connor* v. *Donaldson* decision referred to earlier, raises and leaves uncertain such complicated questions as: involuntary commitment for psychiatric treatment on the grounds of dangerousness, the principle of least restrictive alternatives to hospitalization, the question of adequacy of treatment in light of the absence of nationally defined standards, and the personal liability of physicians for their professional actions" (Kopolow, 1976, p. 379).

Some similar results have been identified in mental retardation cases. The retarded in institutions have served an important symbiotic function. They have served as a surplus pool of unskilled labor. They contribute to the maintenance of the social class structure by providing a self-perpetuating lower-lower class (Holland, 1972). To the degree that court cases are successful in enforcing better alternatives, the overall institutional census of State schools for the retarded will be reduced. (Logically they would all be closed.) This means per capita institutional costs are increased and the spector of institutional closings is raised. The issue of the principal constituency then becomes sharpened—clients or employees? The legislator is faced with existential alternatives. The retarded will be better off out of the institution, the cost escalation could be eliminated if the institution was closed and the financial resources transferred to purchase of service arrangements. But the many institutional employees no longer needed in that role are all voters as are their family members. To organized labor representating the employees, their principal constituency is clear — it is their members.

Another group affected by the many changes are those medical practitioners associated with retardation. Holland (1974) describes the medical complex as invested in retaining control over retardation resources. As policy shifts because of both executive branch ideological changes and court decisions, the balance of power is upset. Connery (1968), in reviewing the politics of mental retardation, describes the opposition of the American Medical Association to proposed Federal legislative changes in the 1960's. As support for Federal action mounted and it became clear that they could not win, the AMA adjusted its opposition. Selected changes were supported if the physicians still retained control.

Thus major policy decisions at any level may have unanticipated consequences. Significant financial investments in institutions for the mentally ill or retarded ordered by the courts in order to improve the quality of life, may severely hamper the progress of noninstitutional programs. The assumption is that funds are limited. Since the courts seldom monitor the results of their decisions, the same mistakes can recur. In the famous Willowbrook case in New York State, the court established a formal monitoring procedure as have the courts in several desegregation cases around the country.

An important side effect of the Willowbrook case (which may never have happened without judicial intervention) was to increase the average 1977 yearly expenditure per resident to $25,000. Yet still the program was inadequate! Thus, for the first time, the premise that inadequate programs were solely a result of limited resources was found lacking. A committee of experts advising the State concluded that effective programming by the State at Willowbrook was unlikely given any resources. They recommended that the institution be closed and all services decentralized and contracted.

The issue of uniformity should also be noted. The decisions of Federal and State courts, except for the U.S. Supreme Court, are specific to defined districts or States. Thus the recalcitrant administrator may be able to resist a general application of the court findings. Judicial decisions are usually interpreted very narrowly by the executive branch and may need constant challenge which is a costly and time consuming procedure.

Timing is another problem. Court time must be measured in years, even decades, as appeals and legal manipulations delay ultimate decisions.

Courts do not initiate, they respond to the actions begun by private parties. As a consequence, sustained activity in a given substantive area is handicapped. Coherence is unlikely, and comprehensive planning is impossible. Decisions are ad hoc. Cases may be atypical. "Courts see the tips of icebergs and the bottom of barrels. If their perspective is detached, it is not necessarily well informed" (Horowitz, 1977, p. 152).

Limits on the Role of the Judiciary

The policy implications of court decisions are extraordinary. They extend to governmental, constitutional, business and commercial practices, and professional standards. They enhance the unity of the nation. They protect the individual. But is it all to the good?

Friedman (1972, p. 36) suggests that in the long run it has serious drawbacks.

> "Courts are essentially oligarchic, lacking the representative character and responsiveness which legislative bodies should possess. They are passive receptors, awaiting the limited demands of litigations . . . Courts lack the data-gathering facilities necessary to achieve predictably sound results. Their wisdom is intuitive rather than empirical. Their power depends upon public acceptance. Perennial judicial policymaking arouses a dielectical progression; it eats away the expectations of neutrality forming the principal source of the courts' moral support; long-continued judicial authoritarianism will ultimately destroy itself."

Glazer (1978) suggests other problems. He concludes that judicial activism in sociopolitical administration reduces the discretion, responsibility, and authority of line and administrative staff; gives greater weight to theoreticians than to practitioners; and increases the power of the legal and theoretical professions over the professionals who deal directly with clients.

Pendulum

The power, interest, and ideology of the various branches of government are not consistent, but rather, are constantly adjusting relative to the other branches. When the Federal Administrative Procedure Act was adopted in 1946, the liberal community was alarmed. They saw in the Act a procedure for the "conservative" judiciary and legal profession to control the progressive New Deal agencies. In fact, the Act was never used by the courts to significantly control the regulatory process on behalf of conservative interests. A generation later the liberals invoked the assistance of the courts against those same Federal agencies they had once protected. "The courts, far from undoing the work of the Federal agencies, have in general required them to do more and better" (Horowitz, 1977, p. 149).

Schottland (1974) reminds us that for a long period of time the courts were viewed as "enemies of social progress" (p. 16). In 1904, the courts declared the first (Maryland) Workmen's Compensation law unconstitutional. New York State had a similar experience in 1911. The 1923 Old-Age Assistance Act was similarly forbidden as was Ohio's Aid to the Blind. In the 1930's, many of the New Deal reforms were struck down by the courts: (1) railroad retirement program; (2) minimum wage to women; and (3) certain child labor acts.

The intervention by the courts into social welfare was a phenomena of the 1930's. The Federal Governments limited and late entry into the field can be attributed to the Supreme Court which prevented". . . the government from making appropriate social policy in these areas" (Kurland, 1974, p. 486).

Thus the swing of the pendulum is not a recent phenomena, nor does it go in one direction. In 1930, Felix Frankfurter noted that, "Since 1920 the court has invalidated more such legislation than in the fifty years preceeding. Views that were antiquated twenty-five years ago have been resurrected . . . And always by a divided court, always over the protest of its most distinguished minds" (p. 47).

It is likely that the apogee of activism in the current swing of the pendulum has been reached and its popularity may be receding. As a method of social change, the judicial role has been substantially expanded in the last 25 years and still offers to the innovative and aggressive many opportunities for stimulating significant change. As with all of the methods described in this monograph, by and of itself it has its limits. It should always be combined with other alternative interventions, and insofar as public social policy is concerned the legislative body is still the ultimate repository. Effective, long-standing, trustful relations with the legislature may still bring about more significant results than the judicial route. Ideally, they would be combined with pressure on the executive branch to perform its role more effectively.

MILITANCY AND CONFLICT

American Violence Historically

Although the United States was founded by an alienated, critical, dissatisfied, and disgruntled people, and many of its current inhabitants continue to possess these traits, it is clear that the escalation to violent protest measures in the 1960's was generally viewed with hostility by the majority segment of the population. Each society and time has its unsanctioned limits. When breached, violent reaction is likely. Arrests become common as elected officials and the public will not strongly oppose countervailing measures

The National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence (1969) began its final report with an historical review of violence in America. They cited the following points:

(1) America has always been a relatively violent country and given the state of affairs, this was a reasonable reaction.

(2) Over time, in response to rapid social change, American violence has varied, ". . . waxed and waned with the social tides."

(3) An exclusive law enforcement rather than a balanced remedial and enforcement response to disorder ". . . tends to lead to a decaying cycle in which resistance grows and becomes ever more violent."

(4) Effective remedial change must be widely supported or it may promote counterviolence.

(5) "Finally, Americans have been, paradoxically, both a turbulent people but have enjoyed a relatively stable republic" (pp. 1-2).

They concluded that violence *is* within the American tradition, however, it subsides as institutions respond to the causal forces. The Commission's concern is that traditional coping techniques which have evolved may not be adequate to meet the increasingly rapid rate of social change and its associated instant communications.

In fact, it can be concluded that complaints, advocacy, hostility, and militancy, in reasonable amounts, may be essential for an effective democracy. Certainly, big government, big business, and big labor have all been attacked at various times.

These aggresive roles can take a number of forms: activism, contest, conflict, competition, advocacy, insurrection, war, disruption, complaints, protest, demonstrations, sit-ins, hijackings, marching, revolt, resistance challenge, civil disobedience, coercion, violence, and confrontation. It is clear even from this brief list that a broad range of alternative roles and means exists.

Current Examples

Some current American conflicts (which are both radical and political) include: the women's liberation movement; the black revolution; the Mexican-American revolution; the Puerto-Rican revolution; the Chinese-American revolution; the student movement; and even, client rebellion. Among the areas of risk and concern around which conflicts have evolved are: sex/gender roles, family structure, occupation roles, social status, racial stereotypes, civil rights, economic distribution, authority, competency, religion, and government. Thus, all of the basic social institutions are now under challenge.

An alternative method of examining this situation is to look at some of the current battlegrounds. Physicians are challenging the American Medical Association; young lawyers, the American Bar Association; architects, their professional society; basic scientists, other scientists; the clergy, other clergy; newspaper journalists, the editors and publishers; young noncareer military personnel, career military personnel; and junior military personnel, senior military personnel. In government, local government is in constant tension with other levels of government; and certainly students and faculty in

the late 1960's and early 1970's made a real battleground of many of the colleges and universities in the U.S. (And as recently as the summer of 1977, we saw the resurrection of Kent State.)

Definition

Some attempt at definition is appropriate and useful at this time. Harry Specht (1969) (Table I and Table II), focused on four modes of intervention: collaboration, campaign, contest or disruption, and violence.

It is clear that Specht's classification system ranges along a continuum (collaboration will not be discussed here since it is included elsewhere). When violence is reached, by Specht's definition, there is a total loss of confidence in the democratic political structure. Within his definition of contest, we see something comparable to competition generally within certain organized rules. It does imply a winner and a loser and some change in the relation and distribution of influence and resources. Insurrection, of course,

Table 1. Change: Perceptions, Responses and Modes of Intervention (Specht, 1969)

Perception of Change	Response	Mode of Intervention
Rearrangement of resources	Consensus	Collaboration
Redistribution of resources	Difference	Campaign
Change in status relationships	Dissensus	Contest or disruption
Reconstruction of the entire system	Insurrection*	Violence

*Insurrection is used here because the word "revolution" can only be applied to successful insurrection.

Table 2. The Relationship Between Tactics and Modes of Intervention (Specht, 1969)

Mode of Intervention	Tactics
Collaboration	Joint action Co-operation Education
Campaign	Compromise Arbitration Negotiation Bargaining Mild coercion
Contest or disruption	Clash of position within accepted social norms Violation of normative behavior (manners) Violation of legal norms
Violence	Deliberate attempts to harm Guerilla warfare Deliberate attempts to take over government by force

is a "change perceived as intended to overthrow the sovereign power of the state" (Specht, p. 7).

The President's Commission on Campus Unrest (1970) distinguished between various forms of protest. They described student protest, as a nonproblem, for a university by definition is a sanctioned site for debate. They viewed protest as organized dissent; disruption as interference with formal activities; and violence as willful damage or injury to things or persons.

Blum, Cohen, and Kohn (1972) describe four types of activists: the grassroots organizer, the activist-sponsor group, the research activist, and the activist-trainer. In general, they are intensely involved in all phases of the confrontation or crisis. They may organize, seek support, seek community leadership, develop tactics and strategies, participate in goal formulation, gather and analyze information, solicit outside help and resources, and/or challenge those controlling needed resources.

Utilization

In the late 1960's and in the early 1970's, the protest-confrontation strategy was a very popular mode of intervention. Few were successful, however. Successful protest/confrontation requires several essential components. Credibility is crucial. Any threat must be accompanied by willingness and ability to carry it out. Also the successful implementation of the threat must hurt — economically, socially, or politically. Further, it the threat is carried out, it is necessary that the confronting organization have the ability to continue to control the threat and to stop the confrontation when appropriate or necessary. Threat implies leadership, consensus, and support. Ideally, the best threat is the one that never has to be implemented, thus reducing the costs for both sides. Finally, the confronting group must be able to rekindle its strength and return to action if the subsequent settlements prove unsatisfactory or are not fulfilled (Cohen, 1973).

Turner (1969) notes that in responding to a protest: (1) the dominant group may surrender, which he points out is unlikely or is usually patronizing when it does occur; (2) the dominant group may classify the protest as deviant and thereby depreciate it or ignore it; (3) the dominant group may define the protest as a rebellion and suppress it; (4) they may acknowledge the legitimacy of the complainants and their grievances and identify with them; and (5) they may negotiate in a conciliatory manner.

Violence, as with all of these modes of intervention, has both constructive and destructive components. Constructively, it can and has been used as a threat to achieve concessions, to dramatize the seriousness of the problem, to attract new support, or to accelerate the negotiating process. Its disfunctional components are equally obvious. It often alienates former allies. It frequently results in a shifting of the focus from the issue to the conflict (often leaving the issue unresolved). Of course, its most potentially destructive form is when it becomes uncontrollable and causes serious harm.

The consistency of violence as a form of organized intervention was dramatized in N.Y. City in 1972, as a number of Manhattan theatres were showing the violent Mafia wars of 1945-1955 in the film *The Godfather*, concurrently, six gang style executions occurred in N.Y. City and conflicts broke out between the Gallo and Columbo gangs (*Time*, 1972).

Environmental Influences

Ordinarily, violence is viewed as an expression of anger or despair, and certainly much of it must be fueled by such intense feelings. Nevertheless, as Berkowitz (1962), Blumenthal (1972), and others have pointed out, violence may be principally instrumental — a means of achieving politicial, social, or economic ends. The killers in *The Godfather* describe it as "just business." Similarly our western films which glorify the frontier spirit sanction the stereotype of the straight-shooting law enforcement officer — marshall or sheriff — who settles matters without fear or frustration, but cooly, rationally, quickly, and usually without concern for due process of the law, especially for the rights of the offender.

Blumenthal (1972) in her studies of attitudes toward violence found that ". . . attitudes toward violence are related to values and attitudes toward the contenders in the violence. Moreover, the same values that enable one to justify the use of police force in an effort to maintain social control enable one to justify the use of violence as a means of producing social change. The two values that are most closely related to attitudes toward violence are retributive justice and self-defense (pp. 1301-1302).

Escalation

Hazel Henderson (1971), using environmental impact issues as an example, lists six steps though which conflict can escalate: (1) the traditional marketplace mechanism; (2) if unsuccessful, the issue will move to the political or governmental areas; (3) failing governmental or political areas the conflict may be moved to the Judicial Branch; (4) next, if still unsuccessful, the advocates may attempt to mobilize stockholders, persuade universities and churches to vote their shares against management or to politicize the annual meeting; (5) if all of these steps fail, the next effort may be directed to the general public via the mass media. Methods most likely to attract the attention of editors, that is picketing or dumping industrial waste on the front doorstep of the corporation or other dramatic news rendering devices and tactics may be chosen and acted upon. (6) Failing all else, the conflict may devolve to the streets with civil disobedience, sabotage, and confrontation the methods of choice.

Conflict is a form of highly visible feedback. It is a way of compelling some response to discord, difficulties, troubles, or problems. The question is how one reponds to such concerns in a constructive and useful manner. It is clear that only with a multidimensional and proactive view of the world which reflects our exponential rate of social and technical change, will we be able to respond rationally and reasonably. As an example, Henderson (1971, p. 83) asks "What happens if the cost of the mounting environmental chaos that has accompanied Japan's rapid industrial expansion is added to the balance sheet?" The hard won gains suggest success at first blush, yet when viewed holistically may demonstrate a major debit elsewhere, perhaps considerably greater than the achievements of the former. The evergrowing problems engendered by solid waste disposal are examples of this. It is clearly more convenient to have nonreturnable bottles and nonreturnable plastic containers. It is also clear that the American capacity to manufacture, expend, and afford conspicuous consumption is now producing a significantly negative effect upon the environment and upon the supply of the raw products which are necessary to produce these goods. Thus, the profits made by the firm in reducing the handling costs of the bottles and containers and the convenience to the consumers who do not have to return them may be and probably are substantially outweighted by the other losses consequent to this arrangement.

Responses

Assuming some basis of legitimacy of the claims of the protagonists, and also assuming that most protests evolve incrementally through some reasonably identifiable steps, it is clear that time to resolve greivances is usually available. Alternative resolution mechanisms depend upon the stage of the escalating grievance, the combatants, and the arena or form in which it occurs. Henderson (1971) notes that corporate managers, within their traditional structure using a variety of common techniques currently available to them — role playing and encounter groups, and sensitivity training—do not really have to learn new tricks or new procedures. They have always had these kinds of issues to face, though perhaps not with the degree of intensity or hostility that may be more commonplace today. Certainly, as the next layer of alternative procedures outside of their own intraorganizational environment, they have such mechanisms as collective bargaining, mediation, and arbitration. All of these models are legitimized, sanctioned, and organized, thus enjoying some agreement by the contending parties. Of course, for those who view the system as fundamentally wrong, all of these mediation procedures

must, in turn, be disfunctional because: (1) they originate from the system and (2) they suggest that the system itself, by modification, can meet the objections posed rather than necessitating the elimination of the system which is the goal of some of the more militant leaders.

Henderson (1971, p. 90) builds on her model and opts for the ". . . deliberate institutionalization of social change, so that violent revolution becomes superfluous." This would require, of course, the commitment of substantial resources to the building of a new infrastructure for the management of social conflict. Basically, she is suggesting that crisis and conflict are with us and will remain so due to the escalating rate of social change and the increasing sophistication of technology and our communication devices. Thus, we need to find a new way of dealing with institutional organizational, and community crises. If it is perceived that what is at stake is a high resource group being challenged by a low resource group for a different sharing of those resources, then a ready and simple solution to the problems is clearly not readily available. People tend to protect what they have, and organizations tend to behave similarly. Nevertheless, conditions of disequilibrium do exist, have existed, and shall continue to exist thus providing the necessary preconditions to continue sharpening the differences between groups.

SECTION III

THE FUTURE

THE FUTURE

On three previous occasions in recent years I have written on the future (Demone and Harshbarge, 1973), (Demone and Schulberg, 1975), and (Demone, Schulberg, and Broskowski, 1978).My assumption has always been the same. Change is exponential. Resources ae limited, needs and wants unlimited, and demand somewhat in between. We have the capacity to identify future trouble spots. We can better use our resources...thus this monograph on planned social and organizational change methods.

Platt (1969, p. 115) describes the rate of change as an "S curve".

> "In the last century, we have increased our speed of communication by a factor of 10^7; our speed of travel by 10^2; our speeds of data handling by 10^6; our energy resources by 10^3; our power of weapons by 10^6; our ability to control diseases by something like 10^2; and our rate of population growth to 10^3 times what it was a few thousand years ago."

Bell (1967) identifies four underlying sources of change in our society: (1) technological development; (2) the diffusion of goods and privileges thoughout our society; (3) structural changes, particularly the centralization of the political system and the husbanding of human capital; and (4) the relation of the United States to the remainder of the world.

Futurists range the optimism-pessimism continuum from a future world replete with justice, dignity, humanity, and autonomy to a world picture filled with injustice, overpopulation, food shortages, pollution, and a totalitarian state.

This monograph will be much more modest in its objectives and hopefully more immediately practical in its discussion of the future. Some significant American demographic tools will be noted as background material to a discussion of the state of the American human services in the 1980's under four interacting influences: (1) evolving ideologies and social values, (2) emerging technologies, (3) changing administrative practices, and (4) modified program patterns.

I will close by a brief discussion of some forecasting techniques which are available to the worker and manager, as differentiated from those more commonly used by professional futurists and scholars.

Demographics

New job patterns and opportunities for women, more mobile families, better schools and possibly less crime are the headline demographic predictions (*U.S. News and World Report*, 1976). The proportion of people under 21 is decreasing, over 65 increasing. Absorption of the well educated in the labor market will be a problem. Adults born in the 1940's and 1950's will find "... they cannot achieve their expectations for a lifestyle similar to the prosperity they grew up in. There may be cutthroat competition for upper level

jobs and increase in white collar crimes, widespread dissatisfaction the lower level jobs and more mental health problems" (K.E. Taeuber quoted in *U.S. with News and World Report*, 1976).

Accompanying the job strain will be a housing strain. In the late 1970's and 1980's more families will be formed than in any comparable period. Desirous of small homes in a housing market of large, older, and energy inefficient homes will mean rapid price escalation for smaller houses and considerable dissatisfaction.

A lowered rate of marriage, smaller families, and more employed married women all add to the intense competition for jobs.

The role-gender changes also manifest themselves in the aging process. By the year 2000, it is predicted that we will have 50 percent more females than males over age 65 (R. Robert Revelle, cited in *U.S. News and World Report*, 1976).

As the 15 to 24 age group is reduced absolutely and relatively, so likely will assaultive crimes, burglary, and auto theft be reduced.

As the number of adults to children increases, the opportunity for adult companionship for children also increases. The socialization process will change. Accompanying this will be a surplus of trained teachers and schoolroom space, allowing for more attention to the quality of education without any significant increase in expenditures. Alternatively, substantial savings are possible if school buildings are closed and positions eliminated. Additionally, the shortage of jobs and increase in employment by married women will likely lead to the extension of the school years at both ends — nursery school and graduate school — to both allow people into and to delay entry into the labor market.

Small families and improved retirement systems will permit more mobility among the retired. More flexibility will be built into the retirement age. Age 65 will no longer be the magic number.

The higher birth rate among blacks and the steady immigration of Spanish-speaking people from Mexico and Central and South America (legal and illegal) will further alter the ethnic and racial composition of the nation.

Ideologies and Social Values

Societies can be evaluated in many ways. One is evident in the values and assumptions through which it makes decisions about what is right and important for helping its citizens. Unfortunately, human service program developers and planners must seek to satisfy the value assumptions of one group of potential service users while recognizing that such activities may be in contradiction to values of other groups. Developing effective ambulatory abortion services meets the needs of one constituency well. They are less expensive than hospital-based services and can be of equal quality. Other citizens question the underlying premise of such an intervention, independent of its quality and cost. Further complicating the design of services is that the values of many subsegments of the population are not conscious or explicit until they are challenged. Finally, values may change over time, in relation to the larger changing environment and the shifting dominance of the various societal subgroups.

Given these variables there are a series of contemporary belief trends which appear to be molding the human services delivery system. I will address eleven of these value/belief trends.

Equity of Care. In general, the debate over whether health services are a right or a privilege has subsided. In some respects, the same state of affairs may be true for recreational services. For many other human services, for example, day care, homemaker, home health, family counseling, and the like, there still is some uncertainty. Given the differing state of development, equity of care for all people is a goal in the eyes of some beholders. Specifically, equity is measured in respect to availability, accessibility, and quality as evident by the various efforts to eliminate a "two track" caregiving system.

Personal Choice. Closely associated with the principle of equity of care is that of personal choice — the right of a person to participate in the choice of a treatment plan. Professional judgements are no longer sacrosanct. Legislative, judicial, and professional subsystems are increasingly supporting the right of the client to be fully informed about the nature of his or her problems and to participate in choosing alternative remediations. The debates about Laetrile underlie this development. Even though it is generally agreed the medication has no positive consequence, and may even have some negative results, the courts are ruling the patient has a choice to use it despite opposing professinoal judgements.

Citizen Participation. Closely associated with equity of care and personal choice is the value system which supports the principle of lay determination of program policy. Although the distinctions between professional and lay knowledge about the intricacies of problems are becoming increasingly separated, the policy questions, independent of the particular intervention, have been joined. Citizen participation is now widespread. Citizen control is more the rule than the exception in contemporary human service agencies.

Deinstitutionalization. For years, we managed our chronically ill and socially deviant persons in large, impersonal institutions miles from urban centers. Community responsibility and involvement were minimized. More recently, a combination of compassioante social values, sophisticated pharmacological agents, and new applications of old constitutional principles have modified the impulse to extrude people who were tuberculous, chronically and mentally ill, judicial offenders, or developmentally disabled. Human scale, more personalized, alternative living and caregiving arrangements are becoming increasingly available in communities across the country. As a consequence, the viability and future of large remote institutions has been challenged as inhumane, ineffective, and costly.

Decriminalization. Linked to the diminishing belief in the value of large distant institutions is a greater willingness to explore alternative arrangements for the criminal. Some may be classically therapeutic, others may be self-help oriented; in any case, sanctions for experiments are increasing. Additionally, certain types of antisocial behavior have been eliminated from coverage under the criminal justice system and transferred to the human services network. About half of the States have eliminated the crime of public intoxication in this decade. Alcoholics are now treated by the social welfare system rather than in jails. The personal possession of small amounts of marijuana is also rapidly being decriminalized and the treatment of drug dependence in general has been shifted to human service organizations.

Profitmaking. The general assumption is that the human services field is staffed by socially conscious people less concerned about monetary gain than in helping their fellow human being. Although this remains generally true, the very size and complexity of the human services field has stimulated the development of proprietary organizations such as nursing homes, day care centers, homemaker organizations, mental health centers, and the like. In some communities, they are providing strong competition to the long-established, not-for-profit, public and private human service organizations.

Professional Roles. Just as the distinction between professional and lay responsibility in policymaking has been blurred, so too, are the distinctions between professional roles changing. Peter Bourne (1977) suggests that psychiatrists will have to "give up some of their cherished prerogatives whether or not they want to, . . . we must be willing to support the training of paraprofessionals... This will inevitably involve the development of third-party reimbursements for these people. And it may not necessarily require continuing supervision from psychiatrist" (p. 1).

Similar developments can be seen in the rise of midwifery, the role of recovering alcholics in the field of alcoholism, hospital administrators in large general hospitals, nurse practitioners, and so on.

This revolution is filled with tension and undoubtedly will find professional groups pitted against each other and against paraprofessional and nonprofessional groups.

Continuing Education. It is increasingly clear that human service professionals will continue their education on a lifetime basis. It is evident that in fields imbued with technology, internal medicine for example, failure to stay informed will lead to physicians not being competitive with their more advanced colleagues. State governments and professional associations are adopting standards requiring continuing education. Three merging forces will accelerate this trend: (1) educational institutions competing more vigorously for a smaller pool of potential enrollees; (2) a labor market unable to fully accommodate all of the well-trained people entering it, and (3) exponential change. Continuing education is functional to all of these changes.

Privacy and Confidentiality. Old hat to many human service practitioners, privacy and confidentiality is now having its public day. Scores of bills have been introduced in Congress and State legislative bodies in recent years to protect people from the intrusion of government and agencies funded by government. Some of these proposals have been enacted. Basically their objectives are to set standards regarding data banks and to increase access to records by the involved individuals and (sometimes) organizations. Stimulating this intense interest is the fear of erosion of personal liberty as a function of the promiscuous collection and dissemination of information about individuals. Fundamentally, it is an expression of the right to privacy implicit in the Bill of Rights.

Privatization. Macroplanning issues may lead to microevents or ideological controversy. In a recent editorial, the distinguished British journal *The Economist* (1975) suggested "that it has become increasingly clear that ownership of means of production is no longer a source of political or economic power *and may indeed now be a source of political or economic powerlessness.*" Without attempting to review this conclusion and its general implications, it notes that about 40 percent of the British gross national product passes wholly through the private section, and government has tight control over this; while about 60 percent passes through the public sector, and over this the government has practically no day-to-day control.

It points out that nearly half of the fiscal 1974 yield of income tax was "lost." The public sector spent money nobody intended it to spend without anybody actively objecting. This stems, it says, from the way in which ownership or direct employment nowadays means noncontrol. It is relatively easy for an organization to take action against subcontractors, customers, taxpayers, or other outsiders by cutting off orders or raising charges. It is no longer easy to keep control over direct employees because they can be controlled only by passing down instructions, and passing down instruments to people who resent being regarded as subordinates no longer works.

The trend in Britain and in other countries, concludes *The Economicst*, will be to reprivatise; that is to pass to private contractors many present public sector operations. Then if the contractor is not collecting the garbage effectively, the contract can be switched to somebody else before all of the money is lost.

As the editorial in *The Economist* suggests, this is not a peculiarly British development. Ideologically we are leaving the principles of the New Deal and becoming much more pragmatic about delivery of our services. One evidence of this change is in general purpose local government administered by trained city managers. They are moving rapidly to contractual procedures.

The deinstitutionalization phenomena (mental hospitals, State schools, and schools for delinquents) has seen an interesting development. Many of the new community based

programs are operated on contract, while the governmental employees have remained in institutions containing less and less clients at higher and higher percapita costs.

Corporate Social Responsibility. American business is becoming increasingly sensitive to its community and social responsibilities. The problem is how to best execute this developing ideology with the growth of large complex multicorporations. Community often means absentee ownership. Unless there is increasing willingness to decentralize authority, corporate social responsibility will be exercised less in community-based matters than in national concerns and in issues specifically relevant to the operation of the organization. Of particular importance to organizations, whether locally or nationally managed, is the environment (air, water, solid waste, energy conservation, recycling, etc.). An effective role in respect to these variables means more profits and a less omnipresent government.

It is also clear that more companies are beginning to permit employees to participate in local affairs, representing themselves, as a legitimate function of employment.

Technological Innovations

The second major set of forces affecting contemporary human service programs is the level of technological sophistication specific to given problems. When scientific knowledge exists about the etiology and treatment of a given condition, preventive or remedial actions are enhanced.

Consider the microscope. At the time of its invention in the middle of the 17th century, disease was a function of God's punishment of an individual. Cure was found in penance and balancing the disequilibrium which stimulated divine justice — bleeding was not uncommon. The microscope allowed the identification of micro-organisms — germs became legitimate. Medicine, science, and organized religion were significantly affected. Public health was subsequently invented.

These changes did not come readily or early. Denial, rejection, and rationalization were brought into play.

Joseph Weizenbaum (1972), professor of computer science at MIT, predicts a similar history for the computer.

it is reasonable to assume that the human services, particularly health care, have benefited substantially in recent years from scientific advances. Some innovations are relatively inexpensive and can be utilized widely; others can be highly expensive and applied only in selective instances. Nevertheless, each time a new technological breakthrough occurs, new standards of minimum care are applied and upward escalation of quality and (usually) cost occurs simultaneously.

Although technology is generally applauded for its advantageous and positive results, there is an increasing discomfort about some of its potential side effects. The nuclear energy conflict is an example of the latter. It should be stated however that any major changes consequent to technology have always stimulated opposition. Other examples of conflict between contemporary ideology and technology are in the development of behavioral therapy techniques and psychopharmacological agents which have been used to attempt to rehabilitate many chronically maladjusted persons. These efforts, on occasion, have violated the ethic of "personal choice", as when negative reinforcement procedures and tranquilizing drugs are used with inmates in correctional facilities. Can an inmate ever truly "volunteer"? At one time, concern about society would have been dominant. Today we are more likely to defer to the right of the inmate to refuse such contemporary mind-altering procedures.

One of the more interesting technologies noted earlier is the development of legal procedures. Troubled groups are turning increasingly to the legal profession for assistance. Class action suits are highly relevant as a means of contemporary technological change.

Program Patterns

The service maze is aptly described. It follows accurately its psychological analogy. As it becomes increasingly difficult to negotiate, specialists become increasingly remote, and depersonalization accelerates, more money is expended, and both service gaps and overlaps are more obvious; we have both a present and future problem.

How should human services be organized so that client needs will be met more fully and efficiently? An appropriate service organization must be consistent with current social values and ideologies and must build upon the technologies and administrative procedures now being integrated into human services practices. Specifically, the model should create mechanisms which aim toward availability, accessibility, continuity of care, and quality. What strategies are emerging to meet these goals?

Organizational Auspice. The American public human service system has used a variety of delivery reimbursement mechanisms. The most traditional and best understood model is for the public agency to own, plan, operate, manage, and deliver its own services. Best illustrated by the criminal justice system, it is also strongly entrenched in chronic disease, mental health and retardation agencies, and to a somewhat lesser degree in public welfare. But other well established models also exist. For more than fifty years, the rehabilitation system has purchased services for its clients on a group or individual basis by both grants and contracts. Increasingly, welfare and mental health and retardation have added this model to their armentarium. The provider base is broadened but still limited and preselected. Another model, most popularized in health, are third parties. Blue Cross/Blue Shield exemplifies this arrangement, but Medicaid and Medicare are similarly modeled. In a sense, a voucher or credit is provided to the client who can then enter the marketplace directly choosing his or her own provider. Competence in this case is guaranteed by profession-guild standards, by the agency delivering the service, by public regulation, or by the consumer himself.

Both the dental and the legal system are experimenting with third party reimbursements for their own fields and growth is likely.

In general, Americans strongly prefer the marketplace, although they have some ambivalence about the competence of the poor and the handicapped to successfully negotiate it and make adequate judgements. The middle class prefer to make their own decisions and have agencies make the decisions for the lower class.

In any case with privatization, cited earlier, we are expanding organizational models, especially financial reimbursement procedures.

Centralization and Decentralization. The appropriate geographic level for service delivery and administrative responsibility is continually in debate. Demone and Schulberg (1971) have reviewed the factors on which such decisions could rationally be made. Regardless of the choices, a clear cut trend in recent years for direct services has been toward decentralization. In some program areas, such as mental health, the trend has been substantial. In recent years, through general revenue sharing and block grants the Federal Government has been shifting responsibility for human and selected other services to local government. Many Federal categorical grant programs have been eliminated, and State and local governments must themselves assign priorities for human services.

The service implications of this trend toward decentralization are mixed. More appropriate decisions about local needs for human services and bureaucratic rigidity can be reduced as the power base is moved closer to the client. The reassertion of a personal touch is possible. On the other hand, that same personal touch can introduce local petty politics and traditional community prejudices against many of those persons most needing human services. Recognition of this danger and an illustration of the trend toward both centralization and decentralization simultaneously, was reflected in the Federal Government's decision in 1974 to centralize welfare payments to the aged, blind,

and disabled under the Supplemental Security Income program (SSI) at the same time it was moving rapidly to decentralize other functions.

Caregiving Networks. For more than a decade, a variety of experiments have taken place to try to build formal linkages between existing and planned organizations, rather than attempting to build a single super organization. This style acknowledges that it is not fiscally nor practically feasible for an individual agency to provide all services for its clients. The network approach attempts to integrate on a client basis, yet allowing administrative and organizational independence. Traditionally, after determining the basic needs of client groups to be served and the essential services required to meet these needs, a consortium of agencies will divide responsibilities among themselves. Means to enhance comprehensiveness and continuity of care include jont training, interface teams, subcontracting, joint intake, and the like.

The network model of human services explicitly accommodates the pluralistic nature of the American society. As such, although complicated and complex, it stands the best chance of long-range viability.

Self-Help Groups. An extremely important influence upon the delivery of human services is the rapidly growing self-help movement. Small, aggressive, nonprofit, nonprofessional groups have been developed in recent years by persons suffering directly or indirectly from a problem. The principle underlying this development is rather simple. It suggests that people who have had problems can help others with like problems. It also implies, in a good many cases, that they can do it better than the professional. Certainly in fields like retardation, the growth of community based alternatives is essentially the result of the vigorous activity of the parents of retardates and not as a result of any significant change among the professionals.

Since the self-help movement is now a significant alternative to the professionally dominated one, it is clear that ways must be designed to maximize integration for the benefit of the client. The typical client is inclined to use anything that works, which means shopping around in many cases. It is very important that their shopping around be as productive and constructive as possible. Thus efforts to reduce barriers between professional organizations and self-help groups must be constant.

An important element of the self-help movement's development is financial support. In this case there is considerable operational diversity. Alcoholics Anonymous has designed its program strategies on the basis of full financial self-support. Associations for Retarded Citizens who enter into the sheltered workshop and group home field find it necessary to receive help from United Way, the public, and the government if they are to continue to operate these programs successfully. Thus, on a continuum the organizations which seek major outside assistance find themselves becoming increasingly professionalized over time.

Social Services. Kahn (1976) sees the development of a sixth human service system (personal or general social services) to accompany (1) education, (2) income security, (3) the health system, (4) employment manpower, and (5) housing as essential public institutions. Included under "personal social services" would be such components as family services, child welfare, community programs for the aged, settlement and neighborhood houses, homemakers, congregate meals, day care, and other similar services.

The underlying "conceptual base" for defining the system may be specified. The personal social services are the services available by nonmarket place criteria. Need, demographic characteristics, or status are determining, not ability or inability to pay, even though there may be fees, partial fees, or no fees (Kahn, 1976, p. 27).

That extraordinary organizational, fiscal, and programmatic changes will be necessary to achieve this end is obvious. Yet many of the components are in place and small scale experiments are at work.

Health Changes. Predictions about the future of the American health system seem to be especially popular among futurists interested in human services. Typical of the changes anticipated are those identified by Arthur D. Little, Inc., for the 1980's. They see growth in health maintenance organizations, group practice, peer review and ambulatory services outside the hospital. Downward trends are expected in the hospital capacity ratio, inpatient days per capita, and frequently performed surgeries, e.g., tonsillectomies (UPI, June 4, 1977).

Administrative Practices

The final set of forces affecting present and future human services are the new administrative and organizational requirements being imposed upon organizations. Some of these requirements are national in origin and others uniquely local. Whatever the origin, fresh administrative practices are emerging. They are highly significant for the human service delivery system.

To selectively illustrate these developments, I will discuss accountability and evaluation, management controls, planning procedures, unionization of personnel, and bureaucracies.

Accountability and Evaluation Techniques. I have already spoken in great detail on program evaluation. I merely reinforce this discussion here. Another term used for program evaluation is accountability. For many years, the human services have operated beyond the pale of careful public scrutiny. No longer the case, evaluation procedures must be incorporated as integral elements of the total program.

Management Control. As we escalate our scandals, headlines, and paranoia about health and welfare costs, the net result is to build new bureaucratic layers to control the "scoundrels." The Massachusetts State Government, typical of many urban States, has so many checks and balances it is almost comotose. The legislative branch, generally with the support of or stimulated by the Governor's Office, has been extraordinarily creative for nearly 15 years. The operating agencies swallow up these reforms and regurgitate them in an unrecognizable form.

Several years ago, Congress "reformed" our private foundations; several years later regulations were finally issued. The net result was to substantially reduce the capacity of this organizational alternative form to support offbeat, rabble-rousing, malcontent organizations. But, we need such groups to fully test and experiment with alternative. Some State governments have added additional constraining legislation. It is possible that some "robber baron" might exploit the foundations mechanism to enhance self-interest, but the balance is always in question.

The net result of these and other comparable developments is to inhibit existing organizations and restrain the development of new, especially controversial ones (O'Connell, 1976).

Not all developments are negative. As human service agencies have moved in recent years from simple cost accounting and line item budgets to more sophisticated program budgets and management information systems, better use of resources has been possible. The accounting procedure has required the identification of discrete caregiving elements and the cost associated with each of these elements.

Additionally, an examination of the appropriate plan of organization has been stimulated. A recognition of the limits and the potentiality of organizational styles is much more likely today, thus the recurrent cycles of centralization and decentralization. It appears that the likely trend will be toward flatter tables of organization and greater participation.

Bureaucracies. *Future Shock's* author Alvin Toffler sees the need for diversity and decentralization in our postindustrial society. Gone will be the homogenized, centralized,

hierarchical bureaucracies of the industrial society (Holden, 1975). Throughout this chapter, I have inferred that new organizational structures are rapidly taking form. As a general rule, we seem to be moving toward more ad hoc, temporary arrangements, especially for one time, unique, or short-term problems. Since the principle and practice of public administration is based upon the pine tree model, substantial strain and tension is likely as we move toward more flexible administrative arrangements.

Planning Procedure. Positive attitudes toward and support of planning accelerated sharply in the 1960's. Although financial support has leveled in the 1970's, the popularity of planning continues to grow. In general, the current interest in planning seems to be international in nature and found both in the public and private sectors. For example, a recent analysis of planning in Finland noted that "... increasing competition and increases in the cost of material, energy, and human talent had made planning a necessity for the survival of companies" (Nurmi, 1976, p. 48).

Typical American examples are the establishment of the Office of Technology Assessment (OTA) in 1973 to advise Congress and 1974 budget amendments which require five year reviews and expenditures projection in the annual Federal budget. A futures branch has recently been established within the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress.

Another significant futures-planning development was the passage of the National Environmental Protection Act (NEPA). The environmental impact statement requirement for major Federal projects has stimulated an integration of social, economic, and environmental concerns.

Applied futurists are differentiated from other long-range planners (e.g., health, welfare, etc.) in that they are comprehensive and multidisciplinary—the generalist/specialist dichotomy. Whether specialist or generalist, futuristics is a combination of prognostication and planning.

The interesting and stimulating part of the planning development is how to effectively integrate citizen participation and technology. The balance between these impersonal and personalized contributions must be maintained, an over reliance on either can produce misleading projections.

Unionization of Personnel (Personnel and Manpower Practices). Over the years, the human services industry has generally been able to avoid some of the adversary relationships instrinsic to the profitmaking world. All of this is changing, led by the organization of public employees. Some of the more vigorous and enthusiastic pickets turn out to be welfare department caseworkers and State hospital attendants. It appears that serving human personnel through national or local professional organizations rather than by organized labor did not work well for paraprofessionals. Lately, labor has also been successful in organizing professional human service workers. Local chapters of the AFL-CIO State, county, and municipal employees' union are recognized spokesmen for many employees in publicly operated agencies. Additionally, a significant effort has been made to organize employees in voluntarily operated general hospitals. Grossly underpaid lower level employees are demanding substantial salary increases, and the fact that their employers operate on a nonprofit basis is deemed irrelevant.

For public employees the combination of merit systems (civil service) and representation by organized labor has created a major dilemma in public administration. Since these practices are in many way antithetical, management-employee friction can be expected.

The deinstitutionalization, decentralization, purchase of service, and fee for service developments are all significantly affecting the employment of large numbers of individuals. The possible elimination of jobs through attrition, early retirement, or discharge may well significantly influence the success or failure of these new program developments.

Local, community-based, not-for-profit service organizations other than hospitals will probably be the last target in this mobilization drive. Many of them are so small that the cost of organizing them maybe greater than the benefit. However, some of the larger ones are much more vulnerable. The resolution of this personnel issue is an important and immediate one.

Forecasting Techniques

Four forecasting techniques which may be useful for the practitioner are simulation, the Delphi, scenarios, and extrapolation (Meinert, 1973). Most commonly used are extrapolations from present data. We all do this. Based upon current caseloads, assumptions are made about th future. Essentially demand oriented, it generally assumes that current trends will continue relatively unchanged in the future.

Simulations have become popularized in the training of astronauts. Efforts were made by NASA to simulate the environment the astronauts would encounter in space and on the moon. Many teachers use simulation in the classroom. Students are assigned roles to play — the client, the worker and the family. The assumption is that by playing these alternative roles they will be better prepared for the future. Also, the simulation model is obviously used to predict the future.

The Delphi approach uses expert opinion. This is a more sophisticated tool than the others but still can be used in a modest way by nonexperts. A series of judges are chosen, and each is asked on an independent basis to predict the future of a specific act or circumstance, for example, predict the longevity rate or child-bearing practices by the year 2000 for the United States. Following collation of the forecasts, the data is fed back to the participants who are given an opportunity to modify their predictions. The source of the forecast is also requested. This procedure may be repeated several times. Experts falling outside of the interquartile range of all opinions are asked to justify their positions. Finally, the forecaser makes the prediction.

Scenarios are more formal simulations. Assuming national health insurance or a given housing policy, the scenaricist would write several alternative outcomes, attempting to anticipate all variables (Meinert, 1973). Of course a combination of these tools can also be used and often is.

Let us remember that tomorrow's world will not be the same as today's and since we tend to like predicitability, it is advisable to try to anticipate the nature of future changes. To the degree that we are successful, we are either better able to accommodate the changes or to influence them. In either case, some gain and comfort may be achieved.

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APPENDIX

SELECTED CASE STUDIES

As further illustration of the change agents and processes described in Section I and II, Project SHARE's data base was examined to identify case studies documenting actual implementation of these methods in the human services field. This appendix discusses several such studies from a historical perspective; no evaluation of the agencies or their actions is included or implied.

Minnesota Advocacy/Ombudsman Programs

The State of Minnesota has a long history of both *ombudsman* and *advocate* programs. In a 1976 report, *Human Services in Minnesota: Advocacy/Ombudsman Study*,[1] the establishment and development of advocacy and ombudsman groups is traced. The purpose of this study was to examine existing programs and to relate them to the proposed restructuring of State human service agencies. The most efficient use of resources and effective service of clients was the overall goal of the reorganization effort.

The basis of legitimacy for these groups flows from the public responsibility "to protect the interests of groups of persons with special needs, persons who are typically less able to represent themselves because they are handicapped, developmentally disabled, mentally or physically ill, old, young, economically disadvantaged, or especially dependent upon publicly provided services." The *Advocacy/Ombudsman Study* became Minnesota's formal policy statement on the need for these agencies. Recommendations were made concerning the monitoring and evaluation of advocacy/ombudsman services, the establishment of a general ombudsman office centralizing the existing ombudsman activities, and the centralization of advocacy and advisory functions at the executive level of the proposed department of health and social services.

Virginia's Service Integration For Deinstitutionalization (SID)

Much has been written about the need to deinstitutionalize persons who live in facilities for the aged, mentally ill or retarded, and juvenile offenders. The process is not completed with the mere opening of the facility door or grounds gate; something more is required if we expect to provide appropriate noninstitutional living situations for these individuals. The Commonwealth of Virginia developed and implemented a system to facilitate deinstitutionalization.[2&3]

The plan had five components: the assessment and prescription team, and appointed committee consisting of instituional staff and community service deliverers; a *broker/advocate*, an individual selected and employed by the State to personally act for the client in arranging and monitoring service delivery; an automated information system; a quality control team, project staff who evaluated, developed and coordinated the system; and a committee of commissioners, the governing body of the operation.

As of December 1974, 84 clients were living in the community, placed, there via SID methodology, and receiving ongoing broker advocate monitoring. Fifteen more clients had also been placed in the community but were not receiving SID followup attention. In addition, six other clients were deinstitutionalized, but returned to reside again in State instituions.

What change agents and/or processes were at work here? Obviously the broker and advocate roles were represented. The advocate personally articulated client service needs and monitored their delivery; and the broker located the appropriate living arrangement and negotiated the delivery of needed services.

Let us take a second look at the Virginia plan's change components. The assessment and prescription team was, in fact, a *coalition* or temporary alliance of institutional staff and community services deliverers. A working dialogue between the institutional staff and the community was an important element in facilitating the deinstitutionalization process. Rather than blaming institutional staff for what had been standard procedure in this country (i.e., the institutionalization of the aged, mentally infirm, and juvenile offenders), the staff were incorporated into the change process. They became part of the solution rather than part of the problem. An additional use of the coalition process can be seen in the membership of the assessment and prescription team which consisted of *interdisciplinary* representation by local and State agencies.

Connecticut's Community Life Association of the Greater Hartford Process, Inc.

Another example of the broker/advocate roles in action is provided by the Community Life Association of the Greater Hartford Process, Inc. In July 1972, the Greater Hartford Process, Inc. (a private agency dedicated to the improvement of the quality of life in the Hartford area) received a grant from the Social and Rehabilitative Services Administration (SRS) of DHEW for the purpose of developing "a new system of social services." The project was known as the Community Life Association (CLA).

Under the CLA project, family service workers (FSW's) located at neighborhood centers worked with individual clients to assess their needs and assist them in obtaining services. FSW's acted as *brokers* negotiating service delivery and as *consumer advocates* moniroting the quality of services delivered.

In the *Report on CLA Demonstration; July 1973 - June 1974*,[4] problems incurred in project operation were discussed. One problem was the identification of the range and complexity of client needs and matching those needs with services within the scope of programs offered by the CLA. Another problem was the lack of precedent and uncertainties which characterize all experimental projects.

The Wisconsin Experience With Citizen Participation

In 1971, the Governor of Wisconsin appointed a committee to study the field of offender rehabilitation.[5] The committee members represented a broad cross section of the State's citizenry, it included inmates, parolees, businessmen, educators, medical professionals, social workers, and employees of the corrections system. In their final report to their Governor, the citizen's committee discussed existing circumstances and recommendations for the sentencing and treatment process. Two of their recommendations are especially worthy of note; they were the establishment of a *correctional ombudsman* and a resolution calling for increased *youth advocacy*. The citizen's committee also recommended that their heretofore temporary committee become formally established at the State level to assist and monitor the implementation of needed reforms in the correctional system. They also recommended the establishment of similar citizen groups for every correctional institution in Wisconsin.

Thus here we have an example of citizens participating and providing for continued and increased *citizen participation*. We also have an example of a *coalition* in action calling for and initiating change.

The California Department of Transportation

The California Department of Transportation (CALTRANS) solicited *citizen participation* for the State Transportation Plan through workshops, use of mass media, and a newsletter called *Transportation Planning Outlook*. Input was sought from statewide organizations, minority groups, special interest groups and representatives of business and industry. Scheduled plan revisions were built into the original plan to incorporate changing public views and changes in technology.[6]

Connecticut's Triage: Coordinated Services to the Elderly

In the early 1970's the Connecticut Council on Human Services conducted an experimental human services delivery system. One of its primary objectives was "to provide a single entry . . . mechanism supported by an ombudsman function to coordinate delivery of institutional, ambulatory, and in-home services in behalf of the client." This project illustrates two change catalysts which were discussed in preceeding sections. First, we have an experimental *coalition* of agencies working toward the common goal of improved services to the client. Second, we find a formal complaint mechanism in the form of *ombudsman* support in action.[7]

Conclusions

In the past, change was often haphazard and without direction. Planning for change was unheard of. Institutions seemed bent on maintaining the status quo; now they are becoming more future oriented. Legislators, advocates, ombudsmen, and other public-oriented actors are recognizing the need and responsibility for anticipating and forecasting necessary alterations in the composition of laws and services provided. They understand the new awareness and are acting to stimulate, direct, and evaluate such changes.

The agents and processes of change have been defined and formally stated in public priorities, policies, and government law. It remains then for the individuals to assume the responsibility for transforming the beginnings of change into reality. Actors are needed to fill the defined roles of citizen participant, advocate, ombudsman, or broker. And other citizens must be willing to work within the system for change— an ombudsman program cannot operate if people do not register their complaints. Thus, the means for workable and valuable change is at hand leading us to a more responsive and better services future.

CASE STUDY REPORTS

[1]Minnesota State Department of Administration. *Advocacy/Ombudsman Study.* Springfield, VA: National Technical Information Service, 1976. 39 pages. (Order number SHR-0001791).

[2]W.E. Datel & J.G. Murphy. Service-Integrating Model for Deinstitutionalization. *Administration in Mental Health,* Spring 1975, pp. 35-45.

[3]Virginia Service Integration for Deinstitutionalization Project and Social and Rehabilitation Service. *Service Integration for Deinstitutionalization: Summary* (Vol. 1). Springfield, VA: National Technical Information Service, 1975. 81 pages. (Order number PB-255 352).

[4]R. Perlman & M. Goode. *Report on CLA Demonstration Project. July 1973 - June 1974.* Springfield, VA: National Technical Information Service, 1974. 71 pages. (Order number SHR-0000230).

[5]Wisconsin Office of the Governor, Madison, and Citizen's Study Committee on Offender Rehabilitation. *Final Report to the Governor of the Citizen's Study Committee on Offender Rehabilitation.* Springfield, VA: National Technical Information Service, 1972. 137 pages. (Order number SHR-0000861).

[6]California State Economic Opportunity Office, Sacramento. *Approaches to Citizen Involvement in the Local Government Decision-Making Process.* Springfield, VA: National Technical Information Service, 1976. 120 pages (Order Number SHR-0001290).

[7]R.H. Lang. *Triage: Coordinated Services to the Elderly.* Springfield, VA: National Technical Information Service, 1975. 17 pages. (Order number SHR-0000884).

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